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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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28 June 1985

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S., JAPAN SEEN HINDERING KOREAN ATTEMPTS AT TALKS, UNITY

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 23, Jun 85 pp 20-23

[Article by Doctor of Sciences (Hist.) Vladimir Tikhomirov]

[Text] The recent developments on the Korean peninsula are encouraging. After more than a decade of non-constructive contacts between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K.) and South Korea, possibilities have emerged for discussing economic and political problems and for creating the necessary atmosphere of confidence.

A Tight Knot

The problem of Korean national unity is closely linked with the maintenance of peace and security in the Far East and is one of the most complicated in present-day international relations. It arose as a result of the division of Korea through the fault of American imperialism.

The United States prevented the formation of a single democratic state in the favourable conditions that appeared in August 1945 after the Soviet Army had routed the Japanese militarist forces and Korea had been liberated from colonial rule. Instead, it facilitated the emergence of a puppet regime in the south of the peninsula and the proclamation of the so-called Korean Republic there in August 1948. After that, it tried to rob the North Koreans of their democratic gains and to crush the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, established on September 9 of the same year, by unleashing an aggression against it under the U.N. flag and with the participation of troops of 16 countries. At the 1954 International Geneva Conference, which had the Korean issue on its agenda among others, the U.S., its allies and representatives of South Korea blocked the adoption of just and fair resolutions on the postwar settlement in Korea.

As a result, relations between the D.P.R.K. and South Korea are still regulated by the armistice agreement signed on July 27, 1953, by the D.P.R.K., the P.R.C. and, on behalf of the U.N., by the United States, i.e., the belligerents in the 1950-53 war. South Korea refused to sign the document.

Although it is one of the signatories to the armistice agreement, the U.S. has turned South Korea into its military-strategic bastion on the Asian continent.

Under American pressure, the Seoul regime sent its troops to Vietnam where they took part in the dirty war against the peoples of Indo-China. South Korea became an active member of the Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC), a regional association set up in 1966 which was to have been transformed into a military-political bloc. It was largely through the U.S. efforts that South Korea and Japan drew closer together and signed, in 1965, the Korea-Japan Basic Treaty--the first step towards political cooperation between Tokyo and Seoul.

#### Through an Embrace

Speaking in Seoul in the autumn of 1983 Ronald Reagan said that South Korea was of cardinal security importance for the U.S. Washington believes that a continued and more extensive American military presence is an indispensable condition for safeguarding U.S. interests in the region. Concentrated in the South at present are over 41,000 American officers and men, nearly 40 U.S. military bases and other military installations. Incidentally, besides military-strategic interests, substantial economic ones are involved. By 1982 direct American capital investments in the South Korean economy constituted 25.8 per cent of the total foreign investments in that country.

The Reagan Administration has intensified its efforts to build up its nuclear arsenal in South Korea. The Pentagon has a total of over a thousand nuclear warheads there. By the early eighties, the U.S. troops in South Korea were equipped, apart from conventional weapons, with 352 nuclear systems and 686 nuclear warheads with a 222-kiloton total yield. Nuclear cruise missiles and neutron weapons are to be deployed on the peninsula. American warships with nuclear weapons on board make use of the South Korean ports of Chinhae and Pusan. The U.S. has up to 150 F-16 nuclear-capable fighter-bombers stationed in South Korea. It has actually made South Korea its forward nuclear base.

The United States renders Seoul substantial military aid, which has exceeded \$800 million over the past four years, and is to grow by another \$240 million in 1985. In 1985-89, Seoul intends to buy \$8 billion worth of military hardware from the U.S., including F-16 planes, Tow and Hawk missiles, and other modern arms.

Moreover, the South Korean regime is developing its own munitions industry, which now produces over 50 per cent of the weapons and materiel needed by its regular army of more than 600,000 men (plus three million reservists). It is small wonder, therefore, that the South Korean is among Asia's biggest and best-equipped armies.

#### Enter Japan

The U.S. ruling circles are increasingly drawing Japan into war preparations in South Korea. Tokyo and Seoul are expanding their bilateral military-political ties. A parliamentary security council has been functioning since 1979, annual conferences at foreign and defence minister level are held to coordinate foreign policy and military activities. The \$4 billion credits granted by Japan in 1983 are regarded in Seoul as a reward for its active contribution to U.S. imperialism's military-political strategy in the Far East. The U.S.

encourages South Korea and Japan to draw ever closer together with a view to forming, in the long term, a military-political alliance in the Pacific, which President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz and Secretary of Defence Weinberger have repeatedly admitted to be their objective. The problems involved in knocking together this trilateral militaristic alliance, in activating militaristic ties between South Korea and Japan, and in increasing their role in carrying out the United States' hegemonistic plans in the Far East were discussed last September during the visit to Tokyo of Chung Doo Hwan, head of the South Korean regime.

The participation of South Korea with the U.S. and Japan in patrolling the Korea Strait also points to preparations for the establishment of such an alliance. In the course of the Team Spirit, Rimpac and other military exercises, the three countries' armed forces are drilled in offensive operations. Things have gone so far as simulating a nuclear attack on the D.P.R.K.

Washington's militaristic policy, Seoul's war preparations and the resultant buildup of tension on the Korean peninsula and all over the Far East are serious obstacles to the national reunification of the country and interfere with the peace forces' efforts to strengthen security in the region.

Nevertheless, the D.P.R.K. government is working untiringly for a peaceful and democratic reunification of the country. Its persistence made possible a dialogue in 1972-73, which, however, was foiled through the fault of the South Korean side. At its 6th Congress, in October 1980, the Workers' Party of Korea formulated a programme for the achievement of national unity. It provides for the establishment of a Confederal Democratic Republic Koryo, which the North and the South to be equally represented in its government bodies and their ideologies and socio-economic systems preserved.

Needed: A Dialogue

Washington invariably rejects Pyongyang's constructive proposals out of hand. Fresh evidence of its obstructionist stand is its negative reaction to the peace bid made by the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly in early 1984.

Pyongyang proposed holding trilateral negotiations between representatives of the D.P.R.K., the U.S. and South Korea to discuss the situation on the Korean peninsula. The U.S. demand that South Korea take an equal part in the negotiations was met. The proposals provide for ending the state of military confrontation between North and South Korea by concluding a peace treaty to replace the existing armistice agreement and establish stable peaceful relations on the peninsula.

Besides, Pyongyang suggests signing with Seoul a non-aggression pact which would be a guarantee of peaceful coexistence. Pyongyang's package includes two more proposals: for a mutual reduction in the armed forces and for making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone.

It goes without saying that a productive North-South dialogue presupposes ruling out foreign interference in the internal affairs of either side and, consequently, calls for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and the closing of military bases there.

At its January 1984 meeting the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. confirmed these proposals and discussed the problem of providing peace guarantees in Korea and expediting independent peaceful unification of the country. Appropriate resolutions were adopted, and an Address to the World's Parliaments and Governments issued.

"A road of a thousand miles begins with the first step," the Oriental saying goes. The D.P.R.K. government has already suggested more than one step towards contacts which would be conducive to a North-South political dialogue. In the autumn of 1984 it rendered, through the Red Cross, substantial aid to the population of South Korean areas stricken by a natural calamity. In mid-November of the same year, North-South negotiations on economic and trade problems opened in Panmunjon. Representatives of North and South Korea's Red Cross Societies met to discuss a number of problems involved in reuniting the families separated by the 1950-53 war.

In his New Year's speech of greetings on January 1, 1985, Kim Il Sung said that the establishment of contacts between the North and the South was "an event of crucial importance for the relaxation of tension, for the achievement of accord and consolidation, and for paving the way to the peaceful reunification of the country." He pointed out that, if continued, the initial dialogue "could develop into negotiations at a higher level" and that "high-level political negotiations may eventually become a reality."

The recent concrete proposal by the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. for negotiations between the North and South Korean parliaments has the same purpose. It provides for the participation of M.P.s from each side in the sessions of the other side's parliament and for exchanges of parliamentary delegations.

The D.P.R.K.'s initiatives have met with extensive international support. The following statement was made at the Soviet-Korean top-level negotiations in Moscow in May 1984: "The Soviet Union consistently comes out for Korea to be reunited peacefully, on a democratic basis, after the withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea. Such is our firm and invariable stand. We support the D.P.R.K.'s important initiatives which provide for the signing of a peace treaty to replace the existing armistice agreement, for the adoption of a North-South non-aggression declaration, for the mutual reduction of armed forces, for making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone. Realization of these proposals would make the situation in Korea much healthier and create favourable conditions for a productive dialogue between North and South."

These initiatives open the way to an early establishment of a lasting peace on the Korean peninsula, to the solution of the problem of the country's reunification.

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. SAID TO IGNORE PEOPLE'S MEMORIES OF WW II ALLIANCE WITH USSR

PM231331 Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by V. Kislov: "Who's Afraid of the 'Spirit of the Elbe?'" ]

[Text] The combat cooperation between the USSR and the United States during World War II to defeat their common enemy--Hitler's fascism--is alive in the memory of the two countries' peoples. However, Washington is trying to consign that page of history to oblivion.

"These photographs reflect another era in Soviet-U.S. relations, so different from their present state." U.S. World War II veteran William (Kapozoli), who took part in the historic meeting between Soviet and American servicemen on the Elbe in April 1945, used these words in a letter to a Soviet friend to express his feelings on the threshold of victory day. (Kapozoli) now lives in the small town of Old Saybrook, Connecticut, and works for an automobile battery firm.

The 40 photographs which William took have been preserved in his family archives. Today they are published for the first time--documentary evidence of "another era" when the joint efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States were devoted to the struggle for peace.

"At that time Nazi Germany was our common enemy," William writes. "Now too we have a common enemy, only a far more dangerous one--the threat of nuclear catastrophe. That is why our two great powers must do everything to protect the planet from nuclear madness. And for that it is essential to resurrect the spirit of cooperation which united us during World War II."

The photographs which William sent do not simply show Soviet and American servicemen. The main thing is that these photographs reflect that "spirit of cooperation" about whose loss the U.S. veteran writes with regret, the atmosphere of celebration of people who have honorably fulfilled their sacred duty to mankind.

Here is how U.S. correspondent Harold (Denni) described the meeting in an article published in THE NEW YORK TIMES 28 April 1945: "The spirit of the meeting between the American and Soviet servicemen and their commanders was fully in keeping with the magnitude of the event. The Russians received us

with open arms and our soldiers responded in the same way.... Toasts and songs were heard and everyone expressed hopes for the future, for the cohesion of America, Russia and Britain for the sake of lasting peace. The Russians' heartfelt warmth was akin to our soldiers' sincere friendliness.... These candid relations and sincerity on the part of Soviet and American servicemen were observed at all levels...."

Many Americans who, with the Russian servicemen, swore on the banks of the Elbe to do everything to prevent a new war have remembered those moving moments all their lives. And it is their memory of the days of that "other era" which helps them, despite their age and ailments, not to abandon the ranks of the active champions of peace coming out for the resurrection of the atmosphere of joint struggle against a danger common to all.

Some time ago a large group of U.S. World War II veterans visited our country. Whichever one of them you talked with they all had the same definition of the aim of their trip to the USSR--to confirm their loyalty to the spirit of friendship and comradeship which united Soviet and American soldiers in that far-off year of 1945 and to state their determination, forged back in those war years, to struggle for peace on our planet.

"We are your former allies and must do everything to eradicate the feeling of distrust and hostility toward the people of the Soviet Union," Edward (Siyerzhi), a former paratrooper and now a school director, said at the time. "We cannot allow our children to experience the horror of war."

It is concern for the fate of our children which imbues the efforts of those people in the United States who are seeking to celebrate the victory jubilee year with events designed to resurrect the atmosphere of Soviet-U.S. cooperation during those war years.

[PM231333] One of them is Ken (O'Konnel), a veteran of the 83d U.S. Infantry Division from Hicksville, New York, who last year launched really furious activity to obtain the authorities' agreement to organize a jubilee meeting of Soviet and U.S. servicemen on the Elbe.

"I discussed the idea of a new meeting on the Elbe with my former comrades in arms. About 50 men agreed to take part," he disclosed his plans in a letter to the Soviet Union. Some 7 months ago (O'Konnel) also reported that he had made the appropriate requests to the Senate, the Pentagon, and a number of other government institutions.

But Kent's optimism dwindled markedly with every letter. And here is the denouement. "I have just received a letter from a senator from Washington. When I wrote about the possibility of a meeting between Soviet and U.S. veterans, I counted on official approval for the idea from the U.S. Government. How naive I was! I received a refusal, and that means the meeting will not take place...." Some time later the U.S. veteran received a similar reply from the Pentagon.



Kent (O'Konnell) has always considered himself someone "far removed from politics." But this "sanctioned" refusal made him look deeper into the purport of what had happened: "All the blame rests with McCarthyism, which is still alive. But I believe that come what may Washington will not succeed in destroying our friendship!"

To all appearances official Washington is now trying to avoid celebrating the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the victory at all.

Washington has even "failed to hear" the voices of influential figures in the United States who believe that the present jubilee year is incomparably well suited to the resurrection of the "spirit of the Elbe." Thus, Senator Charles Mathias wrote recently in THE WASHINGTON POST: "In the truthful retelling of the history of the war we will be able to find useful principles which will steer us toward a common peaceful future.... Mindful that we once fought side by side, Americans and Russians can erect near barriers against clashing with each other."

Reagan's administration is indeed erecting barriers--only they are on the path of the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations. This is borne out by attempts to consign to oblivion the lessons of the war and the pages of history when Americans and Soviet people fought side by side.

True, several months ago the Western press published reports indicating that the U.S. administration was nonetheless planning somehow to commemorate the jubilee victory day. President Reagan announced his intention to visit the former Nazi Dachau concentration camp during his state visit to the FRG, scheduled for early May. But this statement was greeted with irritation by old Nazis and their Bonn patrons, while FRG Chancellor Kohl suggested Reagan "change his itinerary."

And now the U.S. President, exclaiming "why stir up the past?", has refused to visit Dachau. On the other hand, his itinerary now includes a completely different stop: the military base in Bitburg, where U.S. servicemen are stationed together with Bundeswehr soldiers. Moreover, the trip's program, as well as a picnic with U.S. soldiers at the base, includes a wreath-laying ceremony at Bitburg cemetery, where many Hitlerite soldiers, including members of the SS, are buried.

As for official Washington's attitude toward the victory jubilee, the term "Victory Day" has been completely deleted from the present U.S. administration's vocabulary. Thus, during the May visit the U.S. President and the FRG chancellor will adopt a joint statement to mark the celebration of "peace in Europe day."

It turns out that, as Reagan stated early this year, the United States now recognizes the anniversary of the end of World War II as "the day which laid the foundation to democracy, freedom, peace and friendship between former enemies."



[PM231335] It is no accident that Reagan has brought the thesis of "friendship between former enemies" to the fore. After all, it is on FRG soil that U.S. imperialism has deployed first-strike nuclear weapons aimed at the Soviet Union.

How remote the "ideals" now uniting the members of the NATO bloc are from the truly noble aims which led to the victory of the allies in the anti-Hitler coalition 40 years ago! Is that not the reason why the NATO countries, with half an eye on Washington, are now shamefacedly trying "not to notice" the great holiday which will be widely and fittingly celebrated by millions of people not only in the socialist countries but also in the West?

The U.S. veterans will also raise a toast to victory day, unfailingly recalling the times when Americans and Russians fought together, hand in hand. It is not only a matter of history. After all, loyalty to the oath on the Elbe is the key to the future. To a peaceful future.

CSO: 1807/307

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. BLAMED FOR INTERCOMMUNAL DISPUTES IN CYPRUS

NC132013 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1700 GMT 13 May 85

[Station commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: The holding of a referendum on a so-called constitution for the independent state in northern Cyprus has again drawn attention to the island's situation. Listen to what our commentator has written:

Following this divisive action by the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community, these questions arise: Whose interest is being served? Whose mill is receiving more grist? The first to benefit from such steps are the foreign powers, which have an interest in the split between the island's Greek and Turkish communities. The constant tension between the two communities allows the United States and NATO to keep Cyprus under their control and to use its territory to apply military pressure to neighboring states. Thus, it is no secret that Britain's military bases, which occupy some 99 square miles of fertile land, willingly serve NATO's strategic interests as well. However, this was not enough for the Pentagon, and it recently decided to acquire its own military installations on Cyprus. This is shown quite precisely in the northern part of the island, which is occupied by foreign troops. The construction of U.S. bases on the island is one more convincing sign of who is directly interested in the failure of the search for mutually acceptable solutions. It also shows who is trying to pull the chestnuts out of the fire with someone else's hands. This is precisely why the divisive forces, aware of such support, allow themselves to play so irresponsibly with the future of the sovereign Cypriot state.

In the meantime, Western quarters are trying to justify their anti-Cypriot actions, which are said to be totally natural under the circumstances of [word indistinct] differences between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Besides, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived peacefully and harmoniously as one family for centuries. However, as soon as the British colonialists left the island--and they didn't leave voluntarily--both London and Washington claimed that the island's residents could no longer reach an understanding among themselves. Was this the truth or merely a pretext to justify their interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus? Let's recall how hopeful the Cypriots were about the agreements reached at the 1977 meeting between Makarios, the Cypriot president at the time, and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktas. This also applies to the 1979 meeting between current Cypriot President Spiros Kiprianou and Rauf Denktas. The two parties succeeded in

formulating the basic principles for a solution on Cyprus. Those agreements, together with the UN resolutions concerning Cyprus, could have opened the way for a restoration of the Cypriot state's territorial integrity. But the imperialist circles, led by the United States, did everything to prevent a constructive dialogue, incited the divisive forces on the island, and continued to lead the issue toward a partitioning of the country and its conversion into a military-strategic springboard for NATO. The situation in and around Cyprus deteriorated once more. In the fall of 1983, the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community announced the establishment of the pseudostate in the northern part of the island and took actions with the virtual goal of consolidating the division of Cyprus.

The substance of the Cyprus issue does not lie in intercommunal differences, as is claimed and reported in the West. Rather, it lies in the position taken by the United States and its leading allies in NATO, who have been trying for ages to frustrate the search for a just settlement on the island. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, our country opposes this position. Moscow's unceasing goal is for Cyprus to remain an independent, nonaligned state, free from every form of foreign military presence and with its territorial integrity intact. This is why, our commentator concludes, the Soviet Union supports the UN secretary general's efforts, which seek a resumption of the constructive inter-Cypriot dialogue and condemn divisive actions.

CSO: 1807/307

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. HIT FOR URGING SWEDISH DEFENSE BUILDUP

PM020855 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 85 Second Edition p 5

[Yu. Kuznetsov "International Notes": "Advisers and Anti-Sovietists"]

[Text] A correspondent of the Swedish newspaper DAGENS NYHETER recently visited Washington and met with a number of prominent representatives of the U.S. administration, and also of the Pentagon. Usually journalists ask the questions and their interviewees answer them. But it is clear from the article that this time the American personalities took all the initiative. And they offered homilies and advice of a very specific nature. They mainly expatiated on Sweden's policy in the defense sphere, or more precisely on the "inadequacy" of that country's efforts as regards building up the might of its armed forces.

Why have people across the ocean suddenly started getting so worried about a completely autonomous and even neutral state? And what prompted the Washington representatives to talk with concern of "confidence in Sweden's defense and policy?" After all, it is no secret that that country's position on many international problems does not, to put it mildly, coincide with the U.S. position. There is, for instance, its approach to the cause of detente and disarmament, the question of the limitation of nuclear and missile weapons, the problem of nuclear-free zones, attempts to militarize outer space, and also its assessment of the U.S. role in Latin America, as well as a whole range of other issues. Stockholm's independent position in this connection has long been causing irritation in Washington. But in this case people in Washington are clearly prepared (that is, ardently desire) to display fatherly concern for Sweden's interests, allocating it an appropriate role in military preparations in northern Europe. It is implied that the right to extend military preparations there will belong to the United States.

It is well known that Washington, which is doing everything to push its NATO partners--Denmark and Sweden--to build up military preparations and cooperation with the United States, literally dreams of extending its influence further east, to other states of the European north. Being forced to recognize Sweden's neutrality, American politicians and strategists are trying to kindle pro-Western and even pro-NATO sentiments in that country and to exploit right-wing forces which are spiritually, economically and politically oriented toward Washington. Exerting political and propagandist pressure on Scandinavia, American representatives are eager to speak of a threat to Swedish neutrality--"from the USSR," of course.

The remark by one Washington figure which is cited in DAGENS NYHETER is characteristic in this connection: "Formerly Sweden was acting as a kind of 'Shield,' behind which Norway and Denmark could feel relatively secure." In other words, the danger to Stockholm is only from the east. And therefore, the newspaper writes, people in Washington believe that the United States should step up the pressure on Sweden so that the country will "step up its defense efforts."

It is no secret that the instruments for strengthening the U.S. influence in Sweden include cooperation in the sphere of military hardware, or more precisely deliveries of Western--especially American--equipment for, say, combat aircraft which are produced at Swedish plants. To the delight (and with the active participation) of Swedish right-wing circles, this cooperation has taken place and is continuing. But recently the Social Democratic government decided to avoid purchasing missiles for the country's air and air defense forces from abroad, on the basis of "the interests of the state's security policy, and also with a view to lessening the extent to which the development of the air and air defense forces depends on arms deliveries from abroad." Moreover, as P. Borg, secretary of state at the Defense Ministry, noted, it is not certain that Sweden will have the opportunity to acquire modern American technology which is necessary for the construction of new Swedish planes.

[PM020857] This decision met with a very hostile reception from Swedish right-wing circles. But the "mainspring" of their dissatisfaction with Stockholm's course in the international arena is still the unfulfilled dream of the country's rapprochement with the NATO bloc and its main power, the United States, and of Sweden's inclusion in the West's military-political calculations.

Clearly the opinions and wishes of the Washington advisers coincide with the aspirations of right-wing circles in Sweden, which keep shouting about the USSR's "aggressive aspirations" in the Baltic and even reproach the government for "tractability" with regard to the Russians. How far the representatives of these circles are prepared to go was shown, in particular, by the recent participation of a group of former Swedish generals in an anticommunist "meeting" held in Paris under the auspices of the notorious obscurantist and anti-Sovietist "reverend" Moon.

The cherished aspirations of the advisers [sovetchiki] and anti-Sovietists [antisovetchiki] in Washington and Stockholm have many points of contact. That is why they are so eager to "strengthen" Swedish defense.

CSO: 1807/307

28 June 1985

## INTERNATIONAL

## ECONOMIC DISPUTES BETWEEN U.S., ALLIES VIEWED

PM091603 Moscow ZA RUBZHOM in Russian No 19, 4-7 May 85 (signed to press 3 May 85) p 10

[Article by V. Iordanskiy: "Under American Pressure"]

[Text] Whenever they get together, the leaders of the seven major capitalist states--Britain, Italy, Canada, the United States, France, the FRG and Japan--like to present themselves as some kind of controllers of the destinies of almost all of mankind. These pretensions cannot fail to provoke a smile.

There have not yet been any summit conferences of the "Seven" which have passed in an atmosphere of genuine concord and cooperation. The economic crisis has exacerbated relations among the leading capitalist countries and laid bare the contradictions that exist among them. This is why, however broad the smiles on the faces of the participants in these meetings, the reality with which they have to deal is too gloomy for them to be able to mislead anybody with regard to their actual mood.

In addition, the U.S. ruling circles have the deepest contempt for the problems which tax their partners' brains. At the same time as trying to get Japan to increase purchases of U.S. commodities, Washington is not ashamed to take measures to restrict Japanese exports. Minor economic "wars" are constantly flaring up between the United States and the Common Market countries, and they could escalate at any moment into a major confrontation.

The U.S. attitude to the other participants in the summit conferences did not change before the present meeting in Bonn either. They have been trying in vain for several years now to get the United States to reduce interest rates on loan capital. Washington realizes that, by artificially hiking discount rates, it is possible to attract capital from abroad, capital needed to cover the huge budget deficit. If you consider that this arises out of military spending, it becomes clear that the United States is financing the arms race with the help of a system of high interest rates. It does not care that, as a result of the drain on capital, West Europe has been forced to limit work on updating industry and conducting costly scientific research in the sphere of advanced industrial technology.

Washington recently prepared a new surprise for its West European partners. Having announced a space militarization program, the U.S. administration is

now making a tremendous effort to make them loosen their purse strings to pay for it. West European countries and Japan were promised that they would gain access to secret American technology. West European ruling circles greeted that proposal with a good deal of skepticism. People there know well what store to place by such American promises. The chief thing, however, is not so much the economic or scientific aspects of the U.S. program as the military aspects. People in West Europe cannot fail to see that the militarization of space will pose a monstrous threat to mankind. Moreover, involvement in work on the U.S. program will increase still further the West European countries' dependence on the United States.

The United States is essentially working to place the resources of not only West Europe but also Japan, Israel and certain other countries at the service of its own hegemonist aspirations. For the sake of this aim it is prepared to talk both of partnership and equitable cooperation with the states being involved in the space militarization plans, but as soon as its own interests are affected it resorts once again to its chief means of "persuasion"--diktat.

Certain West European countries have treated the American proposal as though it were a question of an ordinary business deal. For them, the only danger is that West European countries might not secure sufficiently advantageous terms on entering into separate relations with the United States. They suggest that the West European countries draw up a common platform for talks with the United States. This stand virtually gives the go ahead to the U.S. space militarization program. It could entail very grave trials for West Europe.

Will any of the participants in the Bonn meeting have sufficient political wisdom and sense of responsibility for the fate of peace to reject U.S. plans for the militarization of space? The next few days will provide the answer to this question.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S.-SOVIET WW II COOPERATION SEEN AS MODEL FOR TODAY

PM101317 Moscow SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' in Russian 4 May 85 p 3

[Article by Gennadiy Shishkin, political observer: "View of Events": "We Are True to the Oath"]

[Excerpts] This year's spring has been unusual. It has touched people's hearts not just with the bright apparel of the flowers and fresh green of May Day--the holiday of peace and labor. It is also decked with the unfading glory of the Great Victory over Hitler's Germany, the 40th anniversary of which is being celebrated throughout the world. Working people and all progressive mankind are celebrating both these holidays, confident in their own strength and in the unshakable belief that the struggle for peace, freedom, happiness and independence has always been and will always be victorious.

On the eve of May Day two major events occurred in the life of the socialist community. On 23 April a CPSU Central Committee Plenum was held in Moscow to discuss preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. On 26 April the top party and state figures of the Warsaw Pact countries met in the Polish capital, Warsaw. This meeting ended with the signing of a protocol on extending the term of the Warsaw Pact.

The numerous international responses to these events note that the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries are living and working according to Lenin's behests and that the course of history convincingly confirms the great correctness of Lenin's teachings. The socialist countries, on the basis of the advantages of the new system, have achieved great successes in all spheres of social life in a brief span of history. The Soviet Union and the other socialist community states now have at their disposal a powerful and comprehensively developed economy and skilled worker, specialist, and scientific cadres.

All states, large and small, must take part in the search for realistic solutions to today's acute problems and for a reduction in international tension. But a special role here belongs primarily to the Soviet Union and the United States, in whose relations something akin to an ice age can be observed--despite some improvements of late. The reason for this is Washington's adopted course of creating a superior military force which would subjugate the whole world to the United States. The "Star Wars" plans announced by the



Washington administration, which cannot be concealed by any camouflage nor any deceptive assurances, pose a particularly menacing danger to the planet.

The need to improve Soviet-American relations and lend them greater stability and constructiveness is particularly evident now, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitler's Germany. In world history, Victory Day will always remain a prominent landmark. And not only because, out of the thousands of wars experienced by mankind, none can compare with the Great Patriotic and Second World War either in scale and bitterness, or in human losses and material costs. The fact that the victory over Hitler's Germany was gained during a joint struggle by countries with different social systems against their common enemy is no less important.

Looking deeply into history, we cannot fail to note that the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition not only belonged to different social systems but also at several stages of their development had by no means friendly relations with each other. And yet they became allies. Their leaders were able to rise above immediate considerations and subordinate their own actions to the chief goal--insuring victory over the common enemy. And they were successful not only in this, but also in jointly laying the foundations of the postwar structure. These foundations were enshrined in the historic documents of the Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences. Their main thrust is topical even today: to implement mankind's supreme aspiration--lasting peace. The way to achieve this was also indicated--maintaining the unity of aims and actions, which made it possible to overcome Nazism and deliver the peoples from enslavement by the Hitlerites.

Those who act from anti-Soviet positions today and dispute the normality of detente in relations among states with different social systems usually retort that the anti-Hitler coalition was created and acted as a united front only because there was a war on and because Hitlerism was recognized as a universal danger.

[PM101319]. This is so, of course. But after all, we all have a common deadly enemy today too. It is the threat of world nuclear catastrophe. Communists, capitalists, atheists and believers alike are equally interested in eliminating and liquidating this threat. What is more, there are several overlapping interests today for the states of the two opposing systems, for the Soviet Union and the United States: There is the problem of environmental protection, the tasks of the peaceful development of space and the ocean depths, the struggle against hunger in developing countries, and many others.

And is it not indicative that it is not only the joint struggle against fascist Germany which provides us with an example of mutually advantageous cooperation? There are more recent examples too. We only have to recall the events of the last decade to find them. For then, despite the serious conflicts dividing them, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States were able to display the necessary determination and understanding of the demands of the time. They took major steps in the direction of a lasting peace. During the detente years a whole system of mutually advantageous cooperation began to emerge and long-term principles for peaceful relations between the Soviet Union and the United States were elaborated by joint efforts.

The need to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States to their mutual advantage and without attempting to encroach on each other's legitimate rights and interests springs from the realities of the contemporary world as one of the most urgent tasks. On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism we again recall the victors' oath on the tombs and ruins of World War II: War must not be repeated! We remember this and remember what the lessons of war teach. And among these, one of the main lessons is the example of cooperation among the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. Today we appeal to all states of Europe and other continents to rise above their differences and become partners in the struggle against the new danger threatening all mankind--the danger of nuclear extermination.

On the eve of the historic Victory Day all progressive mankind applauds the land of the Soviets, which insured peace for mankind in those harsh years and which is continuing the struggle for peace today. It honors the memory of all the heroes of the anti-Hitler coalition who gave their lives for this bright ideal.

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INTERNATIONAL

USSR: U.S. ATTITUDE CREATES POOR PROSPECTS FOR SECOND ROUND

U.S. Stance 'Unconstructive'

PM300833 Moscow SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' in Russian 25 May 85 p 3

[Article by political observer Vladlen Kuznetsov under the "View of Events" rubric: "Call for Realism"]

[Text] The second round of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms begins in Geneva 30 May.

The outcome of the first round caused concern to the European and world public. Will there be a repetition of the sad experience of previous talks, torpedoed by the siting of new American first-strike nuclear potential in West Europe?

So far as the United States is concerned, one has to note with great regret that there are some people who would in fact like to repeat that history. The American delegates had hardly sat down at the negotiating table in Geneva before Washington began pushing through Congress its program for MX first-strike supermissiles. It reached the point where M. Kampelman, head of the American delegation in Geneva, was hurriedly recalled to Washington to be given the unenviable job of pushing the program.

And there is more. Manufacturing contracts for "star wars" weaponry are being handed out by the Pentagon right, left, and center. While simultaneous attempts are being made to harness the West European NATO partners and Japan to its space chariot.

What does this all indicate? Does it indicate that Washington burns with the desire, as alleged, to make nuclear weapons "impotent and outmoded"? Does it indicate that they are seeking "greater reliance on means of defense there"?

No. The creation of aggressive potential cannot indicate peaceful intentions or a readiness to remove the threat of war by productive talks on arms limitation and reduction. Particularly as the creation of this potential is accompanied by a stubborn refusal on the part of official Washington to follow the Soviet Union and commit itself not to use nuclear weapons first.

The U.S. Administration's military policy does not inspire trust. Particularly since the United States, in the view of such a qualified specialist as former CIA Deputy Director H. Scoville, "is now firmly and openly geared toward a strategic nuclear first-strike policy. Pursuing this policy means one is literally asking for a nuclear catastrophe without parallel in the history of mankind." That says it all.

This overall thrust of the American leadership in matters of war and peace also determines its spokesmen's conduct at talks with the Soviet Union. Will the United States steer a course toward an accord, toward arms limitation and reduction? Precisely this question arose during the first stage of the Geneva talks. The talks are confidential in nature. Nevertheless, there is enough material for one to judge what is happening at the talks and the U.S. stance. There are the articles by highly informed American commentators who have access to confidential information; statements by specialists who have experience of disarmament talks and well understand the intricacies of the American stance; and the coded "leaks" from U.S. delegation circles.

It is true that every effort is being made in the American capital to conceal its unconstructive stance in Geneva by means of peace-loving rhetoric. Making a statement on the results of the first round of talks, the U.S. President was unstinting in his promises "to obtain significant arms limitation" and in optimistic words about "reaching an accord." But the present U.S. stance in Geneva has yet to inspire optimism. Why?

First, the American delegation is deviating from the initial accord reached by A. A. Gromyko and G. Shultz on the eve of the talks. The essence of which lies in the interrelated, comprehensive examination of the problems of nuclear and space arms. The military-strategic situation in the world and the level of armaments today are such that they do not allow any limitation, let alone reduction, until reliable measures preventing the transfer of the arms race to space are taken. Demilitarization on earth is impossible while space is being militarized. If someone has decided to achieve military superiority in space, how can he persuade the other party to scrap his earth-based armaments? It is clear that preventing the arms race in space and stopping it on earth are closely interconnected.

Washington too agreed with this approach initially. That is precisely what opened up the way to new talks. But they only had to begin for the American delegation to begin avoiding discussion of the question of preventing the arms race spreading to outer space. They would like to remove President R. Reagan's "strategic defense initiative" from the ambit of the talks. How can one, however, ignore a project by means of which they intend to acquire military superiority in near-earth space?

Second, Washington, while refusing to discuss the space topic seriously, is also adopting a highly evasive stance regarding the reduction of strategic nuclear arms and medium-range nuclear system in Europe. The American spokesmen in Geneva do not yet have a single truly constructive proposal to their name. Despite which, the "political declaration" of the seven leading capitalist states adopted at their meeting in Bonn at the beginning of May contains approval of America's "positive proposals." Which, one asks?

Surely the drafters of the declaration (principally Washington and Bonn) do not count the "zero" and "interim" options? That is, proposals which are deliberately untenable and unacceptable for the USSR and which figured at the previous talks broken off by the United States and which were designed to secure unilateral advantages.

To facilitate the securing of a mutually acceptable accord at the Geneva talks the USSR has proposed the following to the United States for the whole period of the talks:

--to introduce a moratorium on the creating--including scientific research work--testing, and deployment of space strike arms;

--to freeze strategic offensive arms on both sides;

--and to halt the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe and the build-up of countermeasures by the Soviet Union and its allies.

As frequently in the past, the Soviet Union has shown good will with the aim of activating the talks and creating a favorable atmosphere around them. It has introduced a moratorium on deployment of its medium-range missiles and suspended the implementation of countermeasures in Europe. The moratorium extends until this November. Whether it is extended or rescinded will depend on the United States. It will depend on whether Washington follows the Soviet example of restraint, on whether it halts the further deployment of its medium-range missiles in Europe.

It is also worth remembering here that another moratorium, a moratorium adopted unilaterally by the Soviet Union on launching antisatellite weapons into space first, has been in effect since 1983. And this too helps create a better situation in which to achieve an agreement in Geneva.

So far as strategic nuclear weapons are concerned, the Soviet Union proposes reducing them by one-fourth, while indicating its readiness to make even deeper reductions. But even this is not all; the USSR supports a proposal declaring a moratorium on all nuclear weapons tests from 6 August 1985--the 40th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima--or even earlier.

The new Soviet peace initiatives are an invitation to shift the Geneva talks into a productive stage as quickly as possible and to advance them on a genuinely sound basis toward a mutually acceptable accord. The USSR is not seeking unilateral advantages at the talks, but rather seeks an honest result.

The Soviet Union is not seeking to triumph over its partner at the talks but seeks to ensure the triumph of the common cause of peace, security, and disarmament. The USSR, however, has not come to Geneva to engage in a "philosophical dispute" which commits no one to anything or in abstract disarmament topics divorced from actual practice. Let alone a lecture course about the alleged merits of dubious "initiatives." The Soviet delegation will be seeking to obtain within an acceptable, sensible period

a practical agreement in the spirit of the accord in principle on a comprehensive, interrelated approach to resolving the problem of nuclear and space arms on the fundamental basis of the principle of equality and identical security.

The Soviet leadership has told the American Administration absolutely plainly that it is clearly impossible to combine the arms race with disarmament talks without being guilty of hypocrisy and setting out to deceive public opinion. Geneva is not a shield for military preparations or for attempts to secure military superiority. Nor is it a shield to conceal one's reluctance to come to an agreement on issues whose solution will determine the question of war or peace.

### Only USSR 'Sincere'

LD292241 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 29 May 85

[From the "World Today" Program presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] Tomorrow, 30 May, the second round of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States opens in Geneva. Three main questions are to be discussed at these Soviet-American talks. They are: space strike weapons, strategic offensive weapons, and medium-range nuclear weapons.

How to prevent the arms race in space and how to halt it on earth: These problems concern not only the two states which are meeting again at the conference table--the delegations returned to Geneva today--they concern all parties and all peoples, as well as each person, because the situation in the world remains complex and dangerous. People are waiting for sensible solutions from the Geneva talks. They hope that common sense, political realism, and a sense of responsibility for a peaceful future will win through.

However, these talks are so far not giving satisfaction. Why? The reason is that sincere hope for an accord was displayed on only one side--on the Soviet side. The position of the American side, however, has shown that the U.S. Administration does not reckon on an accord from the aims and the topics of the talks. In all circumstances it intends to continue with its star wars program--a program for the creation of space strike weapons.

During the first round of talks the American delegation in Geneva proposed no constructive steps toward genuine disarmament. It did not display readiness to consider Soviet initiatives seriously and in a proper manner. Our country proposes on each of the points which are being discussed in Geneva a specific, precise, and realistic plan which could lead to an accord with strict observance of the principle of equality and identical security. The Soviet Union believes it is essential to agree on a ban on the creation, testing, and deployment of space strike weapons. The Soviet Union favors a radical reduction of strategic armaments and rejection of the creation and deployment of new types of arms. The Soviet Union favors the immediate halting of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe together with the simultaneous reduction of Soviet countermeasures, and then it is in favor of the reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons. It is prepared for ridding Europe totally of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical weapons.

This is the situation which has come about before the start of the next round of talks in Geneva which, I repeat, begin tomorrow. Such are the positions of the sides.

#### U.S. Actions Hit

LD301036 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 30 May 85

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Sergey Fanton]

[Text] The second round of Soviet-American talks begins in Geneva today. As is known, the outcome of the first round gave no joy to the international public, yielding no specific results. Yet great hopes rested on this meeting. On the eve of the talks, agreement was reached between Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz: The Geneva meeting would discuss the prevention of an arms race in space and stopping it on earth. The American side initially agreed that the military-strategic situation in the world and the level of weapons now accumulated do not permit the limitation, nor especially the reduction, of nuclear arsenals before reliable measures are adopted to prevent the transfer of the arms race into space. In fact, it was precisely this approach that opened up the path to the Geneva talks. But it had hardly begun when the American delegation began to refuse to discuss the plans of the Reagan Administration for the militarization of space, trying to accuse the USSR of putting forward some kind of preliminary conditions and taking up an allegedly too harsh position.

I recall that while the talks were under way in Geneva, the Pentagon was in full swing giving out contracts to the military-industrial complex for the notorious star wars program. Washington is now trying with all its might to involve the NATO allies and Japan in this so-called defensive initiative, which in fact is aimed at making a first nuclear strike on the socialist countries with impunity. The cynicism has gone so far that Kampelman, the leader of the American delegation in Geneva, was called to Washington to help push the program for the MX first-strike super-missile through Congress.

The many constructive proposals of the USSR, and also the measures adopted by our country unilaterally—for example, the moratorium on deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and cessation of implementation of other retaliatory measures in Europe for the duration of the talks—remain unattended in Geneva. Understandably, all these actions by the American side have done nothing to promote progress. It is time for Washington to understand that the Soviet Union is not striving to outdo its partner in the talks, but to benefit the general cause of peace. The Soviet delegation, as before, will be seeking a practical agreement, based on the principles of equality and equal security, in an acceptable, reasonable period, in the second round of talks.

#### World 'Alarm' at U.S.

LD301544 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 30 May 85

[Text] Moscow, 30 May (TASS)—Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS military observer writes:

The second round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons has begun in Geneva. The USSR is doing and will continue to do everything possible to ensure that the accord reached on 8 January 1985 on the subject and objectives of the talks is embodied in specific proposals. It has reaffirmed its readiness to seek in a business-like manner mutually acceptable decisions in Geneva. It has declared that if the militarization of space is prevented, very big cuts in both strategic nuclear armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe will be possible.

Time is, of course, needed to resolve the complicated range of interrelated problems being tackled at the talks. However, given joint efforts from both sides, it is already possible now to create both favorable conditions for the meeting itself and a more healthy political atmosphere around it.

This is precisely the aim of the Soviet proposal for halting all work on developing offensive space weapons and for a freeze on existing arsenals of nuclear missiles for the duration of the talks. This is precisely why the USSR introduced a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles, suspended other countermeasures in Europe, and called on the other side to give an adequate reply to this display of goodwill.

These initiatives have been appreciated throughout the world. This approach is also shared by realistically minded politicians in the United States itself. Let us recall, for example, the letter sent by U.S. senators P. Simon and M. Hatfield to President R. Reagan. Having expressed concern that the continuation of the arms race could undermine the very aim of the Geneva talks, they called on the U.S. Administration to study seriously the question of halting the further production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

And what about the U.S. leadership then? Having failed to manifest any sort of constructiveness at the first round of the talks, even now the United States has not changed its stance: M. Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation in Geneva, admitted that the instructions given to him by the President have remained "basically the same" as they were. Having rejected "straight off" the Soviet proposal concerning a moratorium and creating offensive space weapons and the freezing of nuclear weapons, Washington is continuing to carry out programs for expanding and perfecting its nuclear arsenals at full pace. It is striving at any cost to pull through plans to create a new class of weapons--offensive space weapons, and putting into practice the "star wars" program, which according to the definition of G. Boll, former deputy U.S. secretary of state, is "one of the most irresponsible actions" of the modern age.

All these actions by the U.S. Administration, its unwillingness to review in a decisive way its stance with a view to constructiveness and a business-like approach, are evoking alarm from world public, which desires stronger peace and a halt to the arms race. The international public has the right to hope that in spite of the sabotage by the enemies of detente, common sense, political realism, a sense of responsibility will ultimately gain the upper hand.



LD310650 Moscow TASS in English 0637 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 31 TASS--TASS Political news analyst Anatoliy Krasikov writes:

Is it possible to trust the U.S. Government as a serious partner at international talks? This question becomes particularly topical in view of the beginning of the second round of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva.

The joint statement which Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz adopted on January 8, this year, clearly defined that it must be the objective of the talks to prevent an arms race in outer space and to end it on Earth.

The first round of the talks proved without result, since the U.S. side conducts itself as if no agreement was reached on January 8 on the subject and objectives of the talks, and evades discussing the question of non-militarization of outer space. Meanwhile, renunciation of the discussion of this matter and the realization of plans being nurtured by Washington to create strike space arms are capable not only of undermining the Geneva talks but also of canceling the very prospect for an end to the arms race.

Spokesmen of the U.S. leadership do not stint statements as to their desire to conduct talks with the Soviet Union and their readiness "to show flexibility". In actual fact, judging by everything, they need the talks only for reassuring their people with the semblance of a dialogue with the Soviet Union, and not for reaching a mutually acceptable accord.

Unfortunately, the experience of the Soviet Union's previous talks with the United States on arms limitation problems does not give ground for optimism. The SALT-2 agreement which was worked out and signed after years-long discussion has not been ratified by the U.S. side. Now that the arms buildup in the United States has attained the ceilings set by the SALT-2 agreement, there is talk in Washington that SALT-2 should be regarded as simply non-existent.

As practice shows, U.S. leaders think nothing of renouncing their signature under international-legal documents. How many such documents were denounced through Washington's unilateral decision in the recent past! The de facto evasion of the January 8 accord is only another link in the same chain.

CSO: 5200/1221

INTERNATIONAL

APN COMMENTATOR SURVEYS SOVIET DISARMAMENT POLICIES

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 21 May 85 pp 1-4

[APN item under the rubric "News and Views": "Nuclear Disarmament: What Does the USSR Suggest?" by APN political analyst Spartak Beglov]

[Text] The removal of nuclear weapons from mankind's life remains the priority goal of Soviet foreign policy. A fresh confirmation of this is the recent interview of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the PTI Indian News Agency. It follows from this interview that the USSR is fully solidary with the proposals of the leaders of six countries on five continents (India, Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden) which urged specific measures to curb the nuclear arms race twice in the past 2 years.

Soviet program of action in the field of nuclear disarmament may be divided into three directions.

First, measures putting an end to the development of nuclear weapons and their spreading to other spheres. The task of ceasing all nuclear weapons tests all over the world remains to be overriding in this respect. The USSR has long been ready for a complete prohibition of such tests and could sign a relevant agreement any moment. Such an agreement could have been signed, say, in 1980, but it was exactly then that the United States walked out of the negotiations at which substantial advance had already been made.

The USSR also believes it is high time to put into effect the Soviet-American "threshold" agreements on limiting the underground nuclear weapons tests and explosions for peaceful purposes, which were signed in 1974 and 1976. It is the United States again which is to blame for procrastination with the ratification of these agreements. The reason is clear: the Pentagon's long-term nuclear plan provides for the production of 17,000 new nuclear warheads with a view to reequipping both strategic and tactical weapons systems. This plan provides for a nuclear arms race, planned for years ahead, with an emphasis on their continuous sophistication.

Displaying goodwill, the Soviet Union joins the proposal of the peace-loving public (Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed this on 19 May) to impose, from 6 August 1985 (40th anniversary of Hiroshima), a moratorium on any nuclear explosions to last until the conclusion of a relevant treaty on an overall nuclear weapons test ban.

Another direction of Soviet nuclear disarmament strategy are the measures which ensure drastic cuts of nuclear arms up to and including their complete elimination. In this case the USSR fully shares the proposal of the six to the effect that, as a first step, it is necessary to freeze nuclear arsenals, and stop the development, production and deployment of nuclear weapons. A relevant proposal was made by the USSR as early as 1982 at the talks with the United States (SALT II). At the same time the USSR was an initiator and co-author of a relevant resolution in the United Nations, which was addressed to all nuclear powers.

Subsequent developments gave the Soviet Union a pretext to make an even more specific initiative. When the new Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space armaments began in Geneva last March, Moscow proposed to Washington right away the following measures as a first step: stopping further build-up of arms, and imposing, pending the entire Geneva talks, a moratorium on the development, including research, testing and deployment of space armaments (since the American plan to create a universal ABM system in space undermines the possibility of signing agreements to limit strategic nuclear weapons on Earth).

In the context of this new initiative, the USSR has made yet another proposal to the United States. It suggested that strategic offensive arms should be frozen on a reciprocal basis, that the deployment of American medium-range missiles and the implementation of Soviet countermeasures be stopped. The Soviet Union confirmed its goodwill and intention to follow such a road by imposing a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of the said types of weapons in Europe, which is to last until November this year. As Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed, this country strictly abides by the terms of this moratorium. The Soviet leader said that if the United States displayed reciprocity on this question, this would help place the Geneva negotiations on a practical footing. If the agreement on an organic link between space non-militarization and arms reductions on Earth is observed, the USSR will be ready for most drastic cuts in strategic weapons on a reciprocal basis with the United States.

As for the optimal variant of nuclear disarmament, the Soviet readiness for it has been repeatedly emphasized by relevant comprehensive proposals of the USSR and its allies. An example of this is a proposal on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and on the gradual reduction of their stockpiles up to and including their complete liquidation, which was made by the socialist community countries in February 1979 in the Committee (now Conference) on Disarmament in Geneva. This proposal envisaged negotiated measures in stages. It was backed by Group 21 (non-aligned nations), but the United States and its NATO allies began to block even the establishment of a special working group on nuclear disarmament.

The third direction of Soviet policy in this field is best of all illustrated by the 1982 Soviet unilateral nuclear no-first-use pledge. This direction includes a package of measures aimed at preventing nuclear war and ensuring the norms of conduct binding for all nuclear states with a view to strengthening the security of non-nuclear weapon countries as much as possible, and encouraging the formation of nuclear weapon-free zones in different areas of the world. In brief, the aim of this code of restraint in the nuclear field

is to create the most favourable conditions for nuclear weapons to become redundant both in relations between the powers which possess them and on a global scale. Regrettably, the USSR is so far again the only nuclear power which has made relevant commitments in this important field. All others keep silent, while the United States and NATO as a whole do not conceal their stake on a preventive nuclear war.

Hence, all the difficulties in the implementation of complete nuclear disarmament, a vital task for all mankind. But nothing will weaken Soviet determination to do everything to achieve this goal, relying on the support of the entire international community.

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INTERNATIONAL

ZAGLADIN ON WW II LESSONS: SOVIET INVINCIBILITY STRESSED

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[Article by V. Zagladin, doctor of philosophical sciences and professor:  
"Results and Lessons of the Great Patriotic War"]

[Text] It is a generally acknowledged fact that the world has undergone a fundamental change during the past decades and is continuing to change. The attitude of various classes and social groups as well as different political parties and forces toward this fact is, of course, quite ambiguous. Those who favor social progress and the social and national liberation of peoples fervently welcome the past and continuing changes. Others, however--those who long for the irretrievable past times of the undivided predominance of imperialism, when it could freely do whatever it wished--are not pleased with these changes but are disturbed. They are doing all that they can to turn back the wheel of history.

No matter how the forces of the old world rage, however, humanity has no intention of turning back. It is striving forward. And it is for precisely this reason that all wholesome and reasonable contemporary forces have true esteem for the determining landmarks in the history of the 20th century with which the profound changes that have glorified our epoch are linked. Foremost among these landmarks are the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War of the years 1941 through 1945.

Certainly these events are very different. But they are tied together in the closest manner. The October Revolution demonstrated to the entire world the inevitability of the socialist future and its feasibility. The failure of fascist aggression showed convincingly that the triumph of socialism won by the people was an irreversible event. Taken together, the October Revolution and the Victory and their consequences determined the face of a new epoch in world history. And precisely for this reason, both October and the Victory belong not only to the past but also to the present and the future.

The 40th anniversary of the Victory is being observed by the Soviet people on the threshold of the 27th CPSU Congress. And turning today to the events of 40 years ago, we not only reread the story of the past heroic years but also comprehend in greater depth the path behind us and derive its lessons, and this means that we realize even better the tasks and problems of today and our prospects.

V.I. Lenin stressed that from the point of view of Marxism, war is the "continuation of the policies of given involved powers--and of various classes within them--at a given time" ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collection of Works], Vol 26, p 224). This fundamentally important position applies fully to the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. And it is impossible to understand the consequences of the war and draw the correct conclusions from its lessons if one does not consider which policies it continued, that is, what its nature was.

For Hitler's fascism as well as for German imperialism and the ruling circles of the other countries of the fascist bloc, the war against the Soviet Union was the natural continuation of the policies carried out by them in the prewar years.

In the final analysis, Hitler's fascism sought to secure for itself world supremacy. But for this purpose, it was necessary for it to get rid of the socialist Soviet Union--the main obstacle on its path of aggressive politics and the main bulwark of peace and democracy. "It would be naive to suppose," wrote Hitler in 1932, "that we will come to power directly. We will change fronts, and not just military fronts. But above all we must hold on to the idea that our mortal enemy is Bolshevism."

The war against the Soviet Union, begun 22 June 1941 by Hitler's fascism, was not simply a predatory and unjust war. It was the most reactionary war known by history until then. It involved the attempt of imperialism to destroy socialism, the highest achievement of social progress.

For the Soviet Union, the Great Patriotic War was also a continuation of policy. But of a policy fundamentally different from that of imperialism--the policy of the victorious working class, the goal and meaning of which is the construction of socialism within the country and, in the international arena, the provision of more favorable external conditions for this construction and support for the peoples fighting against imperialism.

One should be reminded that in the prewar years the Soviet Union did everything possible not to permit the unleashing of war and to establish a broad front to resist fascist aggression. However, the ruling circles of the Western powers--Great Britain, France and the United States--refused to support this one just line of ours. The contradictions dividing these countries and Hitler's Germany were very profound. But the so-called democratic powers considered that these contradictions could be resolved at the expense of the Soviet Union. Their logic was simple: let Germany attack the Soviet Union and let them weaken each other, and then the West will appear on the scene to dictate its peace terms to the warring sides. In essence, Great Britain, France and the United States pushed Hitler "to the East" and encouraged Hitler's aggressive anti-Soviet policy.

When the war started, the goals of the Soviet Union in this national patriotic war against the fascist oppressors were not only to eliminate the danger hanging over our country but also to help all of the peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism. Our war for the freedom of the Fatherland merged with

the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic freedoms, and against enslavement and the threat of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies.

For the Soviet Union, the Great Patriotic War was thus a progressive, liberating and just war, for it involved socialism's repulsing the most reactionary shock force of world imperialism--Hitler's fascism. It was a war to save the socialist order, the highest achievement of social progress, and to save the future of all of human civilization.

The Great Patriotic War was a collision not simply of two states but of states representing two opposing social orders, one of which--capitalism--is an antiquated and moribund order, and the other--socialism--is a rising and ascendant order. And this fundamental distinction was felt literally from the first days of the war.

"In every war," said V.I. Lenin, "victory is conditioned in the final analysis by the condition of the spirit of those masses that shed their own blood on the battlefield. Conviction about the justness of a war and consciousness of the necessity of sacrificing their lives for the good of their brothers raises the spirit of soldiers and causes them to bear unprecedented burdens" (Vol 41, p 121). In the years of the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people defended not only their own house but also their great social achievements. The Soviet people did not simply resist the aggressor. They repelled the attack of the most fierce enemy not only of socialism but of all of humanity, the most ruthless enemy of social progress. And they were victorious in this inhumanly difficult struggle.

Our Victory, points out the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945," fully revealed the advantages of socialism as well as its tremendous economic, social-political and spiritual possibilities.

This truly was primarily a victory of the most advanced socialist public and state system. Precisely this system, socialism, made it possible to mobilize in a very short period all of the material and spiritual resources of a huge country, to take it all into one powerful fist for the decisive rejection of the fascist aggressor and his utter defeat.

Our enemies intended to split the union of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia of our country, pitting one against the other. But the moral and political unity of the Soviet society became even stronger during the war years. The working people rallied even more closely around the Communist Party.

The Hitlerites were hoping that the union of Soviet socialist nations would not endure the trials and would fall apart. But these turned out to be vain hopes. Perhaps more convincingly than any other periods in the history of the country, the war years showed that the Soviet people are a truly unified whole. And more than that, the Patriotic War truly became, perhaps, a forge of friendship

of peoples, bringing them even closer together and demonstrating the continuity of the great union of Soviet republics.

Countless times the enemies of socialism sought (and they are seeking today!) to defile the Soviet political system and to show that it is not democratic and is foreign to the people. And when the war started, the Hitlerites in the temporally occupied territories did everything in their power to destroy the soviets and to liquidate their activists. But the soviets sprang up again. Entire soviet partisan republics arose in the enemy's rear.

"Soviet democracy," acknowledged the well-known English historian and politician G. Coyle, "successfully met the test, as is shown by the unity of the masses in the face of the Nazi danger...." Yes, the Soviet political system withstood all of the extremely difficult tests that have fallen to its lot and it showed its durability and vitality.

The Victory was no less of a triumph for the Soviet economic system. Hitler's Germany, having subdued many countries of Europe, had more total resources at its disposal than did the Soviet Union. But the Soviet state, relying upon the planned economic system, was able to make more effective use of what was available to it.\*

The Victory of 1945 was the triumph of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism--socialist ideology--over bourgeois ideology. The Victory of the Soviet people totally destroyed the bases of Hitler's misanthropic racist ideology. It demonstrated once again the unconditional superiority of socialist ideas over the ideas of the old social order. "The profound ideological conviction and the unlimited faith in the correctness of the great Leninist cause served as the inexhaustible source of the spiritual strengths and moral and political unity of the Soviet people," notes the CPSU Central Committee decree dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Victory.

The Soviet Armed Forces made a decisive contribution to the ensuring of the Victory. The military deeds of the Soviet soldier are an unsurpassed page in the entire history of wars and military science.

Many Western investigators who acknowledge the greatness of the Victory won by the Soviet Union readily speak of the merits of the Soviet Army and its commanders, officers and soldiers. But as a rule, they maintain silence about the circumstance that the Victory in 1945 was won not simply by the army and the soldiers. It was won by the army of socialism, by soldiers trained by socialism, with the help of weapons made by socialism, and on the basis of the military science and military skills engendered by socialism. But the bourgeois researchers cannot acknowledge this, for to do so would mean that they were thereby recognizing precisely the socialist nature of our Victory over the capitalist Germany of Hitler.

"They will never defeat a nation," wrote V.I. Lenin, "in which the majority of the workers and peasants have recognized, sensed and seen that they are

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\*For more about this, see I. Golushko, "Economic Preconditions for the Destruction of German Fascism," *POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE*, No 2, 1985.



defending their own Soviet authority, the authority of the working people, and that they are defending the cause whose triumph will provide them and their children with the opportunity to make use of all of the benefits of culture and all of the creations of human labor" (Vol 38, p 315). Precisely this inherent historical law was manifested, and in full measure, in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

Even the most deep-rooted enemies of socialism could not and cannot fail to acknowledge that never before in history was there such a demonstration of such truly mass military and labor heroism not only of men but also of women and even youths. The valor of the warriors at the front and of the partisans and participants in the underground in the enemy's rear as well as the labor achievements of workers, kolkhoz farmers, engineers, scientists, and workers of culture and art were all an expression of a truly national exploit and a manifestation of the greatness of the spirit and heart of the peoples of the Soviet country. The entire world saw that socialism has indeed created a new individual!

The Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the inspirer and organizer of the Victory. "The Communist Party was a truly fighting party," notes the CPSU Central Committee decree, "communists were at the most difficult and decisive places in the struggle with the enemy." By the beginning of 1945, almost 60 percent of party personnel were in the ranks of the Soviet Army and Navy. And in the rear, communists came forward everywhere as labor organizers under the slogan "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!" The party dependably provided for the lasting unity of the political, state and military leadership of the country.\*

"War," indicated V.I. Lenin, "is a test of all economic and organizational forces of every nation" (Vol 39, p 321). He also noted that "the nature of war and its success depend mostly upon the internal order of that country entering into war..." (Ibid., p 319). Socialism was the chief and fundamental source of our Great Victory. During the war years, the Soviet people showed in practice that socialism knows how to defend itself, that socialism is indestructible. This is the most important conclusion that follows from the events of 1941 through 1945.

The fact that socialism gained an absolute and decisive victory in a most difficult, lengthy and bloody war forced upon it by the most aggressive forces of imperialism was convincing evidence of the durability of the socialist system and of its inexhaustible advantages compared to the capitalist system. And it was precisely this that determined the nature and scope of the influence of the Great Victory on the entire further course of world events.

In speaking of the international political results of the Victory of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War, one should emphasize above all the direct results of the fact that precisely socialism was the victor in the war.

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\*For more about this, see A. Yepishev, "The Party of Lenin--Inspirer and Organizer of the Utter Defeat of the Shock Forces of Imperialism in the Great Patriotic War," *POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE*, No 4, 1984.

The Victory of the socialist Soviet Union over fascist Germany and its satellites signified a serious and convincing defeat of German imperialism, an imperialism armed to the teeth and enjoying the open or secret support of all reactionary forces of the world at that time. The predatory plans of German imperialism failed--plans for a new division of the world as well as for the establishment of its world domination and the destruction of socialism. The political, economic and military machine of fascism did not meet the test in the struggle with socialism, which had received the support of all reasonable, farsighted and democratic forces.

The defeat of Hitler's Germany and militaristic Japan was, however, not just their own failure. It was a very serious blow to the positions of imperialism as a whole. It became clear that under the new historical conditions imperialism can no longer control the fate of peoples as it did in the past. And the fascist methods of domination received the severe and clear verdict of history: the nations recognized fascism as a crime against humanity.

The Victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler's Germany and the utter defeat of Japanese militarism also helped to frustrate the plans of the most reactionary forces in the countries that participated in the anti-Hitler coalition.

The creation and existence of this coalition was an important historical event. The peoples and armies of the United States, Great Britain, France, China and other countries made a large contribution to achieving the Victory. This was convincing evidence of the possibility of the cooperation of countries with different social systems on behalf of the achievement of common goals corresponding to the interests of all mankind.

From a social point of view, however, the coalition against Hitler was not uniform. It included states with different social systems. And quite naturally, the reactionary forces in the participating Western countries--which prior to the war had played into Hitler's hands by pushing him to the East--continued their anti-Soviet activities during the war years as well.

At first, they did everything they could to weaken the Soviet Union as much as possible. They then undertook various maneuvers aimed at limiting the influence of the USSR on world development and reestablishing a system of states inimical to socialism along its borders. And in the final months of the war, matters reached the point where the reactionary forces in the United States and especially in Great Britain were considering whether or not it was expedient to, in a manner of speaking, "turn the front" after entering into a confederation with the surviving Hitlerities. There were various sorts of back-stage talks with representatives of Hitler's Germany. And for a rather long time, the British occupational forces maintained units of Hitler's army in their zone that were combat-ready and essentially still armed for use "in case of need."

As early as the spring of 1945, certain circles of the American administration and military command had conversations on the theme that the next war is inevitable and that it will be an anti-Soviet war. Having used the atomic bomb against Japan (even though there was no longer a military necessity for it),

the United States, as that country's former secretary of state J. Byrnes testifies, was pursuing the main goal of "making Russia more compliant in Europe."

However, all of these inordinate hotheads could not fail to give some thought to the lessons of the great battle that had just ended. The Victory of the Soviet people in 1945 was then and remains today a sort of bridle on all of those adventurist elements who consider once again testing the "durability" of socialism.

In defending themselves and their achievements, the Soviet people also resolved another task of historical importance: they made an invaluable contribution to the liberation of the peoples of central and southeast Europe, including the German people themselves, from the domination of Hitler's fascism and also to the liberation of a number of Asian countries from the yoke of Japanese militarism.\*

The internationalist feat of our nation is highly valued in all those countries that the Soviet Union saved from enslavement.

"...Could...the national Slovak uprising and the partisan movement in our country have had much of a future without the help and without the offensive of the Soviet Army in the direction of our borders and our territory? We know that our entire struggle--and not just the struggle of the Czech and Slovak peoples--was linked with and depended upon the struggle and sacrifices of the Soviet Army and Soviet people," said Gustav Gusak.

The congratulatory telegram of the leaders of the PRC on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet Army stressed that during the wartime period it "destroyed the main forces of the aggressive armies of German and Japanese fascism and thus defended the independence of all countries and saved human civilization."

The utter defeat of Hitler's Germany by the Soviet people and their allies was also a tremendous contribution to the liberation of the countries of Western Europe from the fascist yoke.

"The incontestable superiority of the socialist system," wrote Moris Torez, "allowed the Soviet Union to play a decisive role in the destruction of Hitler's fascism and thus to save Europe from barbarous enslavement."

"During the years of the Resistance Movement," noted Luigi Longo, "Europe and Italy had the opportunity to appreciate in full the meaning of the existence of the Soviet Union and the decisive contribution made by the first socialist state in the struggle for freedom."

The decisive role of the USSR in World War II and in the gaining of the Victory and the activeness of socialist diplomacy during the war years were very important factors even before the war was over in the development by the allies

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\*For more about this, see V. Kulikov, "Liberating Mission of the Soviet Armed Forces in World War II," POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 3, 1985.

of the peaceful bases for the postwar period that generally corresponded to the hopes and aspirations of all peoples.

The Great Patriotic War ended with the utter defeat of fascism and the victory of socialism. That was the main precondition permitting Soviet diplomacy to take a step forward along the path marked out in the Leninist Decree on Peace-- along the path of making international relations more democratic.

This was expressed above all in the decisions adopted by the allied countries that provided for the destruction of fascism and the denazification and demilitarization of Germany. As everyone knows, these decisions, strengthened by the agreements between the Soviet Union, United States and Great Britain at Yalta and Potsdam, were subsequently grossly violated (repeatedly!) by the Western powers. West German revanchists and their Western allies are now coming out in favor of revising these decisions. Nevertheless, their adoption and implementation (even if incomplete in the Western occupation zones of Germany) had great political and moral significance.

This was further expressed in the establishment of the United Nations, whose proclaimed purpose was the safeguarding of the peace and security of nations. Largely due to the work of Soviet diplomacy, the UN Charter does not contain a single position contradicting the platform that was relied upon by the members of the anti-Hitler coalition in their fight against fascism.

This was also expressed in the fact that the documents forming the juridical basis of the United Nations (especially in its charter) included principles specifying the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination and the independent resolution of all questions concerning the economic, political and social organization of their life through their own efforts with no external interference. The indicated principles were already reflected, in particular, in the system of peace treaties signed with the countries that were once allies of Hitler's Germany.

The establishment of the United Nations, the determination of the democratic bases of its work, and the orientation of its main efforts toward the preservation of peace were, as it were, the materialization of accumulated historical experience, which, as indicated in the anniversary decree of the CPSU Central Committee, teaches that the defense of peace requires the united, coordinated and active work of all peace-loving forces.

All of the aforesaid relates to the direct results of World War II and the Great Victory of the Soviet people. This Victory, however, had not only direct but also far-reaching consequences. "The destruction of German fascism, and subsequently of Japanese militarism," stresses the CPSU Central Committee on the 40th anniversary of the Victory, "had a very profound impact on the entire course of world development." In what specific way was this influence manifested?

In the first place, the historical Victory of the Soviet Union established favorable conditions for the struggle of the working masses for their own social and national liberation. In the countries where by that time conditions

had matured for profound social and democratic transformations, the peoples rose up in a struggle to carry them out.

This applies above all to central and southeast Europe. In the following years, the peoples of many countries liberated from fascism by the Soviet Army chose the socialist path of development.

In the prewar and wartime years, these peoples were convinced by their own fate where the supremacy of capital leads, which is prepared, on behalf of its class goals, for any sort of treachery and for the renunciation of the defense of national interests. In defending their own class privileges, the ruling circles of these countries essentially delivered their peoples to Hitler's fascism.

In the war years and the liberation period, the peoples saw and understood--again through their own experience--what socialism is, what it gives to the working people, and the strength that it gives to the state. The example of the Soviet Army, the liberating army, was a tremendous educational stimulus for millions and millions of people.

In the West, as is known, they continue to say and write that in the war years the Soviet Union "exported revolution" and "imposed its own social order on other peoples." In reality, the transition to the path of socialism was a matter of the free choice of these peoples. But the presence of the Soviet Army in the territory of a number of countries immobilized the internal reactionary forces, prevented the imperialist export of counterrevolution, and established a more favorable climate for revolutionary reforms.

"The liberating action of the Soviet Union," notes the address of the SED Central Committee, State Council, Council of Ministers and National Council of the GDR National Front "On the 40th Anniversary of the Victory Over Hitler's Fascism and the Liberation of the German People," "gave our people the chance to take a new antifascist, democratic and socialist path. We took advantage of this opportunity. We did it on the basis of the entire experience of German history and the German working class movement accumulated since the time of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels."

"...During the years of World War II," writes Janos Kadar, "the Communist Party was the leading force in the struggle uniting the best representatives of the nation, in the struggle whose objectives were withdrawal from the war and the establishment of an independent, free and democratic Hungary.

"Our people could not turn this struggle into victory through their own efforts. Freedom for the Hungarian people was brought by the army of the Soviet Union in its heroic and self-sacrificing struggle. The Soviet Army crushed and drove from our country Hitler's fascist occupiers--who resisted to the end--and the forces of the Horthy-fascist Hungarian reaction.... Hungary was liberated, it regained its sovereignty, and possibilities were opened up for the social progress of the people."

"In the years of World War II," notes Le Zuan, "the heroic Soviet people and their army crushed international fascism, saved humanity from the fascist

threat, and also significantly weakened other imperialist forces and thus established favorable objective conditions for the development of the national-liberation movement and for the rise of a world system of socialism."

Prior to the war, the Komintern, relying on an analysis of the real trends in social development in the 1930's, warned that attempts to get even with socialism will only lead to the ignominious failure of capitalism, whose system is still missing several links.

That is what happened. Instead of being destroyed, socialism was strengthened. Socialism left the limits of one country and became a world system. A new stage began in the development of the revolutionary process, the process of the transition of humanity from capitalism to socialism. This must serve as a warning to those who are trying to curb history and save the positions of imperialism with the aid of the blackmail of nuclear war and various sorts of adventures.

The rise of democratic forces and the increased activity of the masses in the struggle for freedom, democracy, and the social renovation of society took place not only in the countries of central and southeast Europe. In many other states as well, this process led to the strengthening of the positions of the working class movement and the democratic elements of society, especially the communists. The number of communists in capitalist countries, equal to 1.7 million people prior to the war, increased to 5 million by 1946, even though the number of capitalist countries declined. In a number of countries in the first postwar years, communists were a part of the government.

As a result of the victory of socialism in the Great Patriotic War, the development of the national-liberation movement was accelerated and the process of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism was heightened, which led to its complete collapse.

"We always remember," noted Kaysone Phomvihan, "that precisely the triumph of the Great October Revolution and the glorious victories of the Soviet people over the fascist aggressors of Germany, Italy and Japan during World War II under the wise leadership of the CPSU established favorable conditions for the development of the revolutionary movement in Laos and a number of other countries."

After the victory of socialism over the leading force of the imperialism of that time, colonial despotism could no longer remain unpunished. In experiencing difficult trials, the colonial nations achieved independence. On the eve of World War II, the area of colonial possessions of the imperialist powers amounted to 42.3 million square kilometers and the population of this area was 660.4 million. By 1947, their area had declined to 34.6 million square kilometers with a population of 198.1 million.

The birth of the world system of socialism and the disintegration, and later the collapse, of the colonial system substantially changed the disposition and relationship of forces in the world arena and therefore the entire picture of international relations. The further successes of world socialism, the appearance on the scene of the former colonies of a large number of revolutionary-

democratic states--some of which took the noncapitalist path of development--and the rise and activity of the nonaligned movement signified new progress in that direction.

A very important shift in world development took place in the late 1960's and early 1970's: socialism achieved strategic military parity with imperialism. This is a historic achievement, the significance of which cannot be diminished. Any attempt at the nuclear or other blackmail of socialism is doomed to failure. Socialism never allowed itself to be talked to from a position of strength, from a position threatening the imposition of military force. Such an approach to socialism is simply senseless today.

The main thing is that under today's relationship of forces the task of preventing nuclear war is unconditionally real. One can now fight for a goal that is even more far-reaching--the reorganization of the system of international relations in a democratic spirit. The countries of socialism, the nonaligned states, and significant political forces throughout the world are in favor of this.

Of course, the achievement of the goals of preventing war and making international relations more democratic requires considerable efforts. These tasks themselves are not simple. And the main thing is that the aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism have by no means abandoned their attempts to reverse the course of history, to undermine or do away with socialism. The class nature of imperialism has not changed. And it has not given up the hope that it will be able to change the relationship of forces in its own favor and restore the positions that have been lost.

That is the reason for the unrestrained arms race that American imperialism is now transferring into space as well. That is the reason for the attempts to dictate its will to sovereign states from a position of strength. That is the reason for the unending pressure on the countries of socialism, on the progressive countries of the developing world, and on all peace-loving democratic forces.

An old proverb says: "Whom God wants to destroy, he will deprive of reason." The imperialist system, being in its historical decline, is less and less able to draw lessons from history, from its own defeats, and from the experience of social development as a whole. But it is no less doomed because of this. On the contrary, as the Victory of 1945 showed, any adventures of imperialism are merely new steps along the path of its historical decline.

Nevertheless, the fully justified optimism inherent in communists must not lead to a slackening of efforts directed toward the frustration of the adventurist plans of imperialism and toward the campaign to prevent war.

In the area of foreign policy, noted the special March (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, our course is clear and consistent. This is the course of peace and progress. We appreciate the successes achieved in the 1970's in the relaxation of international tensions, and we are prepared to participate in the continuation of the process of establishing peaceful and mutually

advantageous cooperation between states under the principles of equality of rights, mutual respect, and noninterference in internal affairs. New steps in this direction would be a worthy observance of the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the 40th anniversary of the Victory indicates that the main lesson of the Great Patriotic War is that one must fight against war before it begins. And for this purpose, it is essential to increase the vigilance of the peoples and to watch over and multiply the achievements of socialism.

The Soviet state and the entire socialist community is a fundamental barrier on the path of any pretenders to world supremacy and of all those who would like to resolve the contradictions that exist in the world from a position of strength. For precisely this reason, the defense of socialism is the defense of peace and is the fight for the salvation of mankind and the triumph of social progress.

The plans outlined by our party for the improvement of developed socialism and the further advance of the economy for the increased well-being of the Soviet people and the strengthening of the defensive capability of the Motherland are simultaneously plans for the defense of peace among nations. The realization of these plans is the best means of taking into account the lessons of the heroic history of the Great Patriotic War and of remaining faithful to the traditions of the authors of the Victory.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### LACK OF PROGRESS IN MBFR TALKS BLAMED ON NATO

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[Text] The Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries involved in the talks on mutual cuts in the armed forces and arms in Central Europe began another round of discussions in Vienna on Thursday. Our commentator, Viktor Olinchev, makes these remarks:

The current round is the 36th of its kind since the talks began almost 12 years ago. This is a marathon distance in terms of time, but in actual fact, no progress has been made, and not for lack of opportunities. There have been plenty of opportunities for headway, but the NATO countries refused to utilize them. They kept rejecting every initiative advanced by the Warsaw Treaty countries, without offering anything realistic in return.

The position of the Soviet Union and its allies is plain and lucid. Their main efforts on the international scene are focussed on removing the military threat. This approach also determines their stand at the Vienna talks, whose objective is to bring down the level of military confrontation in Central Europe. It hardly needs saying that agreement on the subject would help bridle the arms race and improve the general situation in Europe and in the rest of the world. The Warsaw Treaty countries seek no advantages for themselves; they base their policy on the approximate balance of strength as it exists today and, incidentally, the Western side has more than once acknowledged that this balance does exist. All the proposals put forth by the Soviet Union and its allies take into account the principle of equal security. Aware that the problem is by no means simple, they suggested partial measures and were even ready to strike a compromise just to take the talks out of the deadlock. Their goodwill was specifically demonstrated in 1979 when the Soviet Union in its unilateral move decided to pull out some of its troops and arms, including tank units, from Central Europe. In February this year, the Warsaw Treaty countries advanced a new initiative: They put before the Vienna forum a draft agreement binding the Soviet Union and the United States to carry out initial cuts in their ground troops and arms in Central Europe, with a clause for no future increases in the armed forces and arms in the region. The proposal incorporated appropriate measures for control. Several months have passed since but the NATO countries have still to reply to it, although the initiative takes into account a number of elements of the Western position.

Or take another proposal formulated by the Soviet Union and its allies which also had directly to do with the Vienna talks, the proposal for an agreement between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on mutual renunciation of military force. In other words, a commitment not to use nuclear or conventional weapons or military force in general. And again, there has been no response from the West. Meanwhile NATO's military bodies, meeting in Brussels over the past few days, have decided on a further build-up in conventional arms in Europe, including its most sensitive central part.

Lessons of the Second World War serve as a reminder of what happened when large quantities of weapons got concentrated in that area, and that time not only Europe, the whole world suffered. Isn't it time to give the matter serious thought?

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INTERNATIONAL

KULIKOV STRESSES RED ARMY ROLE IN WWII LIBERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA

AU250714 [Editorial Report] Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 2, March 1985, signed to press on 26 February 1985, on pages 22-53 under the rubric "On the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory," carries a 13,000-word article by Viktor Kulikov, marshal of the Soviet Union, USSR first deputy minister of defense, and commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states, entitled "Liberation Mission of the Soviet Armed Forces in Europe," reviewing the advance of the Soviet Armed Forces in eastern, southeastern, central and northern Europe in the last stages of World War II and the assistance extended by the USSR to resistance and liberation movements in the countries occupied by the German Nazi Army.

In the introductory part of the article Kulikov emphasizes that in World War II the Soviet Armed Forces not only defended the freedom and independence of their own country but "also saved European and world civilization" and played a "decisive role in the liberation" of many countries. He notes in this connection that, "acting along the course of 'psychological war' against socialism developed by Washington, bourgeois ideologues are now trying, with cries about the 'Soviet military threat' and 'Soviet expansionism,' to hide the noble goals of the liberation mission of the Soviet Army and distort the international character of its operation."

Reviewing the events leading to the outbreak of World War II and the subsequent suffering of many countries under the "brutal terrorist regime" imposed by the German fascist conquerors, Kulikov calls attention to the "heroic struggle of the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Greece and Albania against the Hitlerite occupiers and the active participation of the working people of France, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg in the resistance movement." According to him, the Soviet Armed Forces, "by drawing to themselves the main forces of the Hitlerite army, created considerably more favorable conditions for the armed struggle of the resistance forces especially in France, Belgium, Yugoslavia and Greece." He notes the formation of people's liberation fronts in the occupied countries, including the National Liberation Front in Yugoslavia and the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria, as well as the formation of the armed units of the occupied countries in the Soviet Union. "In addition to that," he said, "in 1944 and 1945 the Soviet Union directly participated in the reorganization and reequipping of the Bulgarian People's Army, the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, and the National Liberation Army of Albania." He lists the numerical strengths of partisan resistance movements in various countries,

noting that in Yugoslavia some 500,000 and in Bulgaria 250,000 people participated in the partisan movement, and points out that the Soviet Union provided "significant material assistance to partisan detachments in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania."

In separate chapters Marshal Kulikov gives an account of the Soviet Army's liberation mission in individual countries under the following subheads: "Liberation of Poland," "Liberation of Romania," "Liberation March Into Bulgaria," "On Yugoslav Soil," "Liberation of the Northern Regions of Norway," "Liberation of the Peoples of Hungary and Austria," and "For the Freedom of Czechoslovakia."

In the chapter under the subhead "On Yugoslav Soil" Marshall Kulikov recalls that, by the fall of 1944, the Yugoslav National Liberation Army and partisan detachments under the command of Josip Broz Tito had liberated a large part of the country, but lacked the necessary means to rout the 570,000-man strong group of the Hitlerite army holding under its control all major cities, railway stations, ports and communications installations. "The Soviet Army was the real force that could rout that group of the Hitlerite forces and assist the Yugoslav people in liberating their country," Kulikov says. The second and third Ukrainian Fronts made a 600-kilometer breach in the enemy's strategic defense and advanced to the borders of Hungary and Yugoslavia, he reports. He adds that "Romanian and Bulgarian troops were operationally subordinated to these fronts." Kulikov cites the Soviet-Yugoslav agreement on joint operations of the Soviet and Yugoslav forces and on other important military-political problems pertaining to the expansion of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, which was concluded during Marshal Tito's visit to Moscow on 21 September 1944, and points out that this agreement "Represented yet another proof of the Soviet Union's respect for the sovereign rights of the Yugoslav people." According to him, "The Soviet forces and divisions of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army closely cooperated in the operations" for the liberation of Belgrade.

In the same chapter on Yugoslavia Kulikov also deals with the liberation of Albania. He stresses that "only the victories of the Soviet Army forced the fascist occupiers to leave Albania, and brought long awaited freedom to the Albanian people. The Soviet Union's material aid to the Albanian National Liberation Army also played a significant role in this respect."

He says: "The Soviet Army carried out no combat operations on the territory of Albania. But the Albanian people well know that the Soviet Armed Forces played a decisive role in the liberation of their country from fascist occupiers."

In concluding his article Marshal Kulikov cites two major results of the "great liberation mission of the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces," first, the fact that "Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia abandoned the capitalist system and embarked on the road of socialist construction," and, second, "the beginning of the combat cooperation of the socialist countries and their armies," which "was further strengthened and widened in the postwar period and is the cornerstone of the Warsaw Pact Organization," Marshal Kulikov points out.

As is seen from the above, Marshal Kulikov does not directly equate Yugoslavia's liberation struggle with liberation struggles in other countries and, in particular, in Bulgaria as the reference item suggests, but does list Yugoslav partisan movement and Yugoslav national liberation forces together with similar forces in other countries, including those in Bulgaria.

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CSO: 1807/307

INTERNATIONAL

CONTINUED BLOC PARTICIPATION IN ILO QUESTIONED

PM101553 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 18, Apr 85 pp 18-20

[Article by Leonid Fedorov: "ILO: Changes Needed"]

[Text] The press has already reported Poland's decision to withdraw from the International Labour Organization (ILO). It had every justification for doing so, for the ILO, a specialized United Nations agency whose job it is to promote international cooperation in the social and labour fields in the interests of the workers, is going through the worst political crisis in its history.

The crisis affects both the structure of the ILO and the nature of its activity. Set up 65 years ago, the ILO for a long time could not shake off the "legacy" of the League of Nations and suffered from a lopsidedness in its structure and in the procedure of its governing bodies' activity.

The preconditions for change in the International Labour Organization in favour of the forces of social progress were created by the entry into the ILO of socialist countries (particularly the USSR in 1954), their participation in its practical activities, the growth of the influence wielded by states which have freed themselves from colonial domination (especially those that have chosen the road of socialism), the upsurge in the international workers' movement, and the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries.

But to this day the ILO's structure is undemocratic. And this is the root cause of the flaws in its practical work. Possible changes in its structure have been under discussion in the organization for more than 20 years now. Although the socialist countries, many progressive trade unions and developing nations insist on change, this lengthy discussion has so far failed to produce any concrete results.

Special mention should be made of the role of the director general of the International Labour Office (ILO's standing secretariat). Speaking at a press conference in Geneva on February 26, 1985, the Soviet representative Leonid Kostin noted that the Director General Francis Blanchard should be more objective and should not allow the socialist countries' proposals on key issues to be ignored. Alas, as was reported by the newspaper LE MONDE, Francis Blanchard

voiced surprise at the charge of lack of objectivity, and claimed that the Soviet proposals to democratize the ILO's structure and enhance its effectiveness in the workers' interests supposedly "illustrate the Soviet desire to destabilize the International Labour Office in an attempt to swing the organization towards Soviet theses."

The possibility does exist to preserve the ILO and restructure its course in the workers' interests. This is borne out, in particular, by Francis Blanchard's visit in 1984 to the headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). There he discussed issues of peace and disarmament, employment and development, and training programmes for working people. The question of the ILO's structure was also discussed.

It appeared at the time that Francis Blanchard showed understanding for the WFTU's position, but this in no way squares with his attitude to the Polish trade unions. A legitimate question may be asked: What is the true position of the International Labour Office on the main provision of the ILO Constitution--the principle of the organization's universality?

In the past, reactionary forces in the ILO have repeatedly tried to impede progressive change. Suffice it to recall, for instance, the crude pressure applied by the U.S. administration when it withdrew from the ILO in 1978-79 and tried to link its return to the organization with the unleashing of a new campaign of slander and discrimination against the socialist countries. But the United States and the imperialist states and monopolies aligned with it failed in their bid to undermine the growing influence of the progressive forces. Is not the present anti-Polish action in the ILO an attempt by Washington to settle the scores?

[PM101555] The political crisis in the ILO was aggravated by the reactionary forces' attempt to accuse the Polish Government of violating international labour standards, the Convention Concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right To Organize, and the Convention Concerning the Application of the Principles of the Right To Organize and To Bargain Collectively. This amounted to blatant interference in the affairs of a sovereign state under the pretext of protecting the notorious Solidarity organization. Anyone who wanted to get to the root of the matter could not but agree with the Polish Government's conclusion that Solidarity, which acted under the facade of a trade union federation, was actually a political organization bent on seizing power in the country and abolishing the socialist system. For this reason the Polish Government had to suspend all trade union activity and then, after martial law was lifted, to promulgate new trade union legislation which provided the possibility of reviving the trade union movement in Poland in full compliance with international labour standards.

Expressing their solidarity with Poland's decision to withdraw from the ILO, the socialist member countries paid tribute to the well-considered manner of action and the patience of the Polish Government, which had long warned Director General Blanchard about the impermissibility of launching an anti-Polish campaign and of interfering in Poland's internal affairs. The socialist countries that attended the November 1984 session of the ILO

governing body protested about the inclusion in the agenda of a "report on the Polish question." It was stressed in their statement that such a use of the "Polish question" in the ILO and the repeated application of the control mechanism for political purposes had proved the existence of a deepening structural-political crisis in the ILO. As the document noted, the principle of the ILO's universal nature had thereby been undermined. The "Polish question" clearly served as a smoke screen to conceal the profound sociopolitical conflicts in the Western countries that were instigating and organizing the anti-Polish actions.

There is no doubt that the socialist countries in the ILO will not remain indifferent to the transformation of the ILO into an arena of unseemly political intrigues through the efforts of reactionary circles. It is worth mentioning that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam had still earlier announced that it was suspending its participation in the ILO. The unprecedented anti-Polish action is directed against the entire socialist community and other progressive forces in the ILO. And the socialist countries reserve the right to take steps to buttress Poland's positions with respect to the ILO and to speak out about the current situation in the organization. The sponsors of the anti-Polish campaign must realize that their impermissible actions place in doubt the possibility of cooperation in the ILO of states with different socioeconomic systems and that such a policy is likely to signify the start of the organization's disintegration.

As was noted in the declaration of the socialist countries on the situation in the International Labour Organization, sent recently to the director general of the International Labour Office, some useful activities on a number of specific social and labour problems are being carried out in the ILO. But on the whole the declaration contains a negative assessment of the ILO's activity and notes the need to radically alter it. "The organization virtually ignores the fact of the admission of socialist and developing countries to its membership," the declaration says. "By following its old course, the ILO in effect serves the interests of only one sociopolitical system, that of capitalism, in an attempt to impose its will and ways on other states."

[PM101557] The ILO's universal nature is being undermined by discrimination against the socialist countries, by the absence of the possibility for all countries to cooperate in the organization on an equal footing. The ILO's practical activities contradict the aims of its constitution because, firstly, questions concerning the cardinal interests of the workers, first of all the right to life and the right to work, are ignored and belittled, and, secondly, because attempts are being made by the United States and a number of its NATO allies to use the ILO against countries of the socialist community and to organize interference in their internal affairs. Such is the conclusion drawn by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), which adopted the declaration. And this conclusion is based on irrefutable facts.

The ILO could be a unique international association of trade unions of different orientations defending the fundamental interests of the workers. But, unfortunately, this potential remains unrealized. What except political bias



could explain the ILO secretariat's refusal to promote the dissemination of objective, truthful information about the role and place of trade unions in socialist society, about their rights and possibilities, their real participation in running the state? For even the modest proposal to hold an international seminar on the position of trade unions in socialist countries is encountering resistance.

Of course, the trade unions of the socialist countries have the ways and means of acquainting the workers in developing and capitalist countries with their multifaceted activities. Ample opportunities for this are provided by the steadily expanding bilateral ties between national trade union centres, including exchanges of delegations. But here we are speaking about something else--the ILO, as an international organization, is bound by its Constitution to protect from obvious slander the countries and organizations, above all trade unions, that participate in its activity.

There is discrimination against the socialist countries in the ILO in the matter of filling elective posts in its various bodies. Representatives of the socialist countries are denied the presidency of important committees of the International Labour Conference and have never been given the chairmanship of the governing body. The representation of the socialist countries' trade unions in elective posts in ILO bodies is restricted. Not once has a representative of theirs been elected to the post of vice president of the International Labour Conference or its committees. The unbalanced composition of the branch committees is a clear example of discrimination against the socialist countries, against the trade unions of the socialist countries. The principle of a fair geographical distribution of posts is violated in the International Labour Office, but its director general refuses to take effective steps to change this abnormal situation. Most of the key posts are held by representatives of capitalist states, and this results in the dangerous deformation of the ILO's political and ideological activity. This is one explanation of why the socialist countries' experience in solving social and labour problems is ignored in ILO publications. As a result, the ILO is increasingly becoming a tool for advertising and implanting in the developing countries the capitalist model of social development, the so-called social partnership and policy of class collaboration so detrimental to the workers' interests. The situation in the ILO must be changed if the trust of mass workers' organizations in the ILO secretariat is to be restored.

The increasingly evident paralysis in the ILO's practical activities in recent years, particularly the ineffectiveness of the existing measures to protect trade union rights, is an indication of the crisis. As a result of the joint efforts of capitalist state bodies and the monopolies the trade union rights won in the course of fierce class battles are finding themselves threatened in many capitalist countries. It is enough to cite the example of the Reagan administration which has put in jeopardy the very existence of trade unions in state institutions. The Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization has been disbanded in the United States. Service workers in Congress are actually denied the right to organize trade unions. The appeal by American Government employees to the ILO for support did not yield any practical results. The ILO bodies that are called upon to monitor the observance of international labour

standards impassively register violations of trade union freedoms in capitalist countries, above all in the United States which, by design, has still not ratified the ILO conventions concerning trade union rights. Facts show that the situation in capitalist countries that have ratified these conventions, for instance in Britain, is hardly better than in the United States. In July 1984 the British Parliament passed a new law that actually places trade union activity under the control of state bodies, in particular by restricting the right of trade union members freely to choose their leaders, to stage strikes and spend trade union funds.

[PM101559] "Total inaction" sums up the ILO's position in respect of mass unemployment in the capitalist countries. And this is no accident, because the main demand of our epoch is simply ignored by the ILO--the demand to put an end to the arms race, to insure a growth in employment by developing the output of civilian goods and reducing military production.

Under pressure from reactionary forces the ILO has distanced itself from the mass anti-war movement that is mounting throughout the world, not least in the capitalist countries. And this is the prime cause of its virtual inactivity in the social and economic field. As a result of the efforts of the socialist countries, and with the support of a number of trade unions in capitalist and developing countries, the director general was given what seemed to be an excellent opportunity to launch ILO activities directed at helping the workers solve the problems of the social and economic consequences of the arms race. But he passed up this opportunity, and the ILO continues to stand on the sidelines of the struggle of the multimillion working masses.

The session of the ILO governing body held in February-March 1985 demonstrated, once again, that the ILO's crisis is rooted in its disregard of the fundamental interests of the working people. In their joint statement the socialist countries participating in the session stressed the need to change this situation and noted that they would not support the ILO programme and budget for 1986-87 and would have to reconsider their attitude to financing some facets of the ILO's activity if their concrete and constructive proposals were ignored again. The representatives of the socialist countries stressed the need to work out an ILO programme on the social and economic aspects of disarmament.

The ILO's future depends on whether it remains faithful to its statutory aims, reflects the interests of the workers in various countries and gives them assistance in their difficult struggle for peace and social progress. Otherwise the workers are likely to have serious doubts about its continued existence.

The declaration of the socialist countries on the situation in the ILO contains the demand that the "ILO enhance the efficiency of its activities, focusing on major social problems of vital importance to workers all over the world, establishing truly equal and nondiscriminatory cooperation among all states and parties in the social and labour fields and actively promoting peace and disarmament.

"Otherwise, the organization will stray further and further away from the path leading to the attainment of its primary objectives, that are the improvement of workers' life and labour conditions and promotion of international cooperation in the social and labour fields, isolate itself even more from the broad masses of workers and once and for all become a tool of unseemly political manipulations."

The socialist countries that adopted the declaration stressed their readiness "fully to cooperate in radically improving ILO activities so that the ILO could effectively implement the goals of its constitution."

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INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET-POLISH 1945 TREATY APPRAISED ON ANNIVERSARY

PM301219 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 17, 19-25 Apr 85 (signed to press 18 Apr 85) p 10

[Article by Stanislaw Kociolek, Polish ambassador to the USSR: "Cornerstone of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] On 21 April 1945 in Moscow, E. Osobka-Morawski, prime minister of the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic, and I.V. Stalin, chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars, signed the Treaty on Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation between our two countries. The treaty was an important element of the postwar system of peace and security in Europe and in the past 40 years has fully confirmed its importance.

I would like to recall the words spoken by E. Osobka-Morawski on the occasion of the signing. He said: "The Polish people, who have undergone the hell of German occupation, who have paid such terrible sacrifices in that war, but who have on the other hand experienced and still constantly experience manifestations of friendship and assistance on the part of the great Soviet people, will welcome this treaty as a great political achievement, as a guarantee of permanent peace and security, and as a guarantee of their freedom and independence."

For his part I.V. Stalin stressed: "I believe that the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance, and Postwar Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland, which we have just signed, is of great historic significance.

"The significance of this treaty lies primarily in the fact that it marks the radical shift in relations between the Soviet Union and Poland toward alliance and friendship, which was established during the current liberation struggle against Germany and is now formally enshrined in this treaty...."

The past 40 years have confirmed the significance and vital force of the April treaty. This document laid the foundations and determined the main guidelines for all-around cooperation between our states and peoples. The CPSU and the PZPR have filled it with vital content. The implementation of the treaty assisted Poland's postwar restoration and the country's industrialization. The economic cooperation between our countries, implemented in accordance with the spirit of the treaty, has strengthened their industrial potential and promoted the intensification of the national economies thanks to mutually advantageous deliveries and the mutually advantageous division of labor.

On 8 April 1965, on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the April 1945 treaty, a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between our countries was concluded in Warsaw. This document solemnly confirmed the commitment to the aims and principles of the treaty of 21 April 1945. Its important role in the development of relations of friendship between the two countries was also stressed: "In accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism, the high contracting parties will strengthen their eternal and unbreakable friendship, develop all-around cooperation, and lend each other mutual assistance on the basis of equal rights, respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in the other side's internal affairs." The sides undertook to actively implement the aims and principles of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA and also to "jointly use all the means open to them to eliminate the threat of aggression from the West German forces of militarism and revanchism or from any other state entering into alliance with them."

### Effective, Vital and Dynamic Alliance

Whenever we have developed our relations in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the 1945 and 1965 treaties actively and on a broad basis, this has produced reciprocal and real advantages. At the same time, whenever the intensity of cooperation has been reduced, the interests of both sides have suffered--as experience shows. This is what happened in the seventies, when Polish economic policy unfortunately listed too sharply and in ill-considered fashion toward the development of links with capitalist countries. This is what also happened in the early eighties when, as a result of errors committed, tension that had arisen in the country, and subversive actions by imperialist special services, counterrevolutionary forces came on the scene which kindled chauvinist and anti-Soviet sentiments and rose against the state system of people's Poland. The result of this was a considerable reduction in the volume of production and in the population's income (in 1982 it declined by almost 20 percent compared with the 1979 level). The PZPR and the Polish Government, drawing conclusions from the situation which had taken shape, resolutely put a stop to the counterrevolutionary forces' actions the process of insuring stabilization, carrying out reforms, and strengthening the socialist elements in Poland's policy, social life and economy was begun in conditions of martial law.

[PM301221] The main element of the efforts made by our party and government was activity aimed at strengthening bilateral cooperation with the Soviet Union. The CPSU and the Soviet Government welcomed these actions and provided us with tremendous economic and political assistance. Our cooperation in 1982-1984 rapidly gathered pace. We reached new targets.

I would like to note three features which characterize the contemporary stage of Soviet-Polish relations. First, the new horizons of economic, scientific and technical cooperation opened up by the Program for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and Poland for the period through the year 2000, signed by our two countries' leaders 4 May 1984.

Second, the jointly chosen course of developing direct production links between industrial enterprises in the two countries (there are already around

180 enterprises in the two countries embracing this kind of cooperation) and between scientific research institutions (there are now around 80 of these). The task is to continue creating the foundations for the development of long-term production and technical links and also the development of applied and fundamental scientific research.

Third, the coordinated course in foreign policy. Our international activity is distinguished by complete unity of appraisals and views, fundamental and unanimous mutual support, and international solidarity. We are united on questions of appraising the importance, vitality and activeness of the Warsaw Pact. We are united in the desire to strengthen cooperation within the framework of CEMA in accordance with the decisions of the May 1984 CEMA Summit.

An effective, vital and dynamic alliance and favorable prospects for developing and consolidating bilateral cooperation for the sake of resolving present and future tasks--this is how relations between our countries can be characterized on the 40th anniversary of the April 1945 Treaty.

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INTERNATIONAL

JAPANESE CULTURAL CENTER IN WEST BERLIN TIED TO WW II AXIS

LD121649 Moscow World Service in English 1430 GMT 12 May 85

[Text] The Japanese prime minister, Nakasone, paid a visit to West Berlin recently. The highlight of the prime minister's stay in that city was his tour of the building of the former Japanese Embassy in Nazi Germany, being transformed today into a so-called Japanese-German center.

The newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN has rightfully qualified the opening of that center as a new factor bound to heighten tension in Europe. Here is our comment:

West German ruling circles openly lay claim to West Berlin, though these claims are [word indistinct] unfounded. The four partite agreement on West Berlin states that it is not part of West German territory and is not governed by West Germany. This means that the establishment on the territory of West Berlin of West Germany's joint institutions with other countries is first of all a violation of international law. Nevertheless, Japan is taking an active part in the planned venture. A leading expert on international law Deradsera Adsimeh believes that the political aim of the establishment of the center in West Berlin is to undermine the status of West Berlin as an independent administrative unit. Consequently, this is an attempt to play into the hands of those forces in West Germany and Japan who are seeking to revise the post-war set up in the world, arrangements thanks to which the military danger has been checked effectively throughout all the 40 post-war years.

Addressing a reception in honor of his visit the Japanese prime minister, Nakasone, made it clear that for Japan the opening of the center was associated with the summing up of the results of World War II. The fuss around the establishment by Tokyo and Bonn of what is termed the cultural center in West Berlin, in the light of the aggressive alliance between Japanese militarism and German fascism, was blatantly timed for the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the states members of the fascist axis, in World War II. This revenge-seeking venture, as the Japanese press points out, proves that the Nakasone government actually gives support to attempts to cause a sensation 40 years after the war around the nonexistent German question. These actions also reveal Tokyo's desire to win recognition for its own illegitimate territorial claims.

CSO: 1807/307

INTERNATIONAL

MAY 1985 ASSIGNMENTS OF CORRESPONDENTS ABROAD ANNOUNCED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 5, May 85 p 55

[Item under the rubric "Official Department": "Appointments"]

[Excerpts] Leonid Sergeyevich Krichevskiy has been appointed chief of the Soviet television and radio branch office in Vietnam.

He was born in 1931. He graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He has worked in the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting since 1956. He has been an editor [redaktor-vypuskayushchiy], deputy managing editor and managing editor of the department for radio broadcasting to Vietnam of the Main Editorial Office for Radio Broadcasting to Socialist Countries; he has been a correspondent, chief of a correspondents' office, and chief of the Soviet television and radio branch office in Vietnam. Since 1980 he has worked as a commentator in a group of foreign-policy commentators in the Main Editorial Office for Propaganda of the Central Radio broadcasting to foreign countries.

Yuriy Vladimirovich Solton has been appointed chief of the correspondents' office of Soviet television and radio in India.

He was born in 1931. He graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He has worked in the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting since 1955. He has been deputy chief editor of the editorial office for radio broadcasting to India and Pakistan, an observer in the foreign-policy information department, and a commentator in the Main Editorial Office for Information to Foreign Countries. From 1972 to 1979 he worked as chief of a correspondents' office of Soviet television and radio in the United States. Since 1980 he has been a commentator in a group of foreign-policy commentators in the Central Radio broadcasting to foreign countries of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

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INTERNATIONAL

FEDOSEYEV CONTRASTS EAST, WEST PEACE MOVEMENTS, ARMS POLICIES

AU220601 Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 2, Mar 85 (signed to press 26 Feb 85) pp 7-21

[Article by Petr Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and chairman of the Scientific Council for Research of Peace and Disarmament Problems: "Contemporary Antiwar Movement and the Policy of Peaceful Coexistence"]

[Text] Mankind is passing through one of the most responsible periods in its history. The question essentially involved today in this connection is whether mankind will be able to insure the further progressive development of civilization on earth, or whether life itself on our planet will perish in the flames of a thermonuclear conflagration. There is no more important and urgent global problem than the problem of insuring peace, the security of the peoples, arms limitation and disarmament. The creation of any kind of real conditions for progress toward solutions for all mankind's other global problems is unthinkable without progress along the road to this goal.

And is it possible to speak about the protection of human rights while at the same time disregarding the fact that the strategy of the super-armed United States and NATO in deluded pursuit of military superiority over the other side is pushing the world to the brink of an all-annihilating catastrophe and flouts the basis of all basic rights of man and mankind, the right to life.

The position, words and work of world science acquire exceptional importance in the situation that has developed. It is the duty of scientists, first and foremost, to tell the truth about the possible consequences of a thermonuclear war, to warn against unleashing such a war, to point out real ways of insuring security, and thereby to activate the struggle for peace everywhere.

In recent years, Soviet scientists, together with their foreign colleagues, have done a great deal to elucidate the scale of the threatening danger and to mobilize international public opinion in the struggle against it. Characteristic in this connection, for instance, is the resounding response received in the world by the decisions of the All-Union Conference of Scientists To Save Mankind From the Threat of Nuclear War, for Disarmament and Peace which was held in Moscow in the spring of 1983. Prominent representatives of science in other parts of the world also participated in the conference. The engagement

of scientists in this direction is intensifying. The growing attention paid to their voices and the trust in their judgments, appraisals and forecasts among the broadest circles of world public attest to this.

It goes without saying that scientists cannot restrict themselves merely to warnings about the inevitable catastrophic consequences of a nuclear conflict for life on earth. Their task (and this applies especially to the social sciences) is to reliably point out the source of danger and to reveal that mystery, in Lenin's words, in which war is born. The problems of war and peace, just like all other global problems after all, do not exist on their own. They are inseparable from the world's social contradictions, from the level of development and the nature of class structure of various countries, and from the policy of the ruling classes. Without analyzing all these factors it is impossible to uncover the deep causes of the exacerbation of the international situation, to lay bare the sources of the threat of war, and, consequently, to find and propose the means of counteracting this threat.

The attempts, encountered in bourgeois scientific literature, to avoid raising the question of responsibility for the aggravation of international tension and for stepping up the arms race, either by blaming both sides "equally" or, in the final analysis, to blame "technology," are scientifically untenable. And what is more, they are harmful and dangerous because they are capable of giving an incorrect direction to the peace struggle or of pushing it from its correctly chosen path.

All this is directly related to the antiwar movement of the contemporary period. The fact that this movement has grown enormously and has gained unprecedented influence on the masses testifies to the profound positive change that has taken place in the awareness of millions of people who no longer want to be reconciled to the course of preparing for a "victorious" nuclear war and of endless increase of weapons. No matter in what part of the world they may live, people basically want one and the same thing: peace, security and fruitful international cooperation. The closeness of their ideals, goals and strivings form a very important basis for the antiwar movement and the foundation of this new specific social and historical commonality.

At the same time, this movement, which is general-democratic in character, is distinguished (and it cannot but be distinguished) by the diversity of its social make-up, by the contradictory nature of the political positions adopted by its participants, and by the ideological dissimilarities and, at times, even irreconcilability of views. Of course, it is this plurality that attests to the support of an overwhelming majority of the earth's population for the cause of peace that represents the strength of the movement, but at the same time, it also hides its potential difficulties.

First of all, it is impossible not to take into account the essential differences between the peace movement in the socialist states, including the Soviet Union, and the antiwar movement in the capitalist countries which emanate first and foremost from the confrontation of the two sociopolitical systems.

[AU220602] The USSR's course aimed at peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and at achieving durable peace for all peoples is shared by all citizens of the country. All Soviet people actively support the Peace Program worked out by the CPSU. Consequently, the antiwar movement here includes virtually the entire adult population. Thus, in 1983 and 1984 alone, more than 100 million Soviet people participated in the demonstrations, meetings and manifestations against the siting of the destabilizing "Euro-strategic" weapons in Europe. It is the result of the social homogeneity of our society that there were no disagreements among the ranks of participants in these actions and that the demands and slogans were made and raised completely unanimously although the solution of a number of problems, including especially those connected with the forms of the movement, the methods or organization, and the search for new methods of antimilitarist propaganda was most certainly not simple.

The main thing is that the ideas of the Soviet antiwar movement, including both those which it has developed itself (for instance, the slogan "No! to all nuclear missiles in the East and the West") and those which it has borrowed from the arsenal of its friends (in particular, the demand of antimilitarists in the United States for "freezing" the production of nuclear weapons), have found their adequate expression in the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives in the international arena. And in other socialist countries, too, the peace movement embraces nearly the entire population in complete accord with the policy of the states. Some people in the West are surprised by this conformity of the slogans of social movements with the policies of the governments. But there is nothing surprising in this because insuring durable peace on earth is the goal both of the public and the governments of socialist countries, the general goal of the socialist community.

For understandable reasons, the situation is a great deal more difficult in the antiwar movement in capitalist countries. Its participants represent qualitatively different classes and social groups, which cannot but reflect on the degree of their consistency in the antimilitarist struggle, on the forms of their actions, on the specific characteristics of their concrete demands and slogans, and on the alternatives defended by them. Furthermore, the antiwar movement in the West is massively influenced by the militarist and promilitarist propaganda machine, which strives to disorient it, confuse it and poison it with the venom of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. The state organs, police and courts in many capitalist countries are bringing down merciless repressions on the fighters for peace, treating them as criminals and setting the rest of the population, the ultrarightists, neofascists and others against them. The main difficulty of the antiwar movement here is the fact that the U.S. Government and its NATO allies ignore the peaceful initiatives of the public of their own countries, avoid in every possible way even considering them, and, at the same time, continue to intensify their policy aimed at achieving the nuclear missile superiority and at militarization of economy and all of social life.

In this condition mutual understanding, mutual assistance, and solidarity between antiwar forces of all countries are especially important, as is the ability to clearly perceive the sources of the growing threat of war, to find

the slogans and goals of key significance at the given moment, and to perfect the ways and means of the struggle to fulfill them. It seems that here, too, scientists, including those engaged in the research on the antiwar movement itself, are called upon to play a major positive role. Strange as it may be, until now the contemporary antiwar movement has not been a subject of fundamental studies by progressive scientists of the world to the extent that is dictated by necessity. However, the efforts of progressive antimilitarist scientists could essentially enrich the contents of the discussions conducted within the movement itself and thereby stimulate its self-awareness, assist it in its correct orientation and, consequently, in the fulfillment of its historical role.

One of the most important achievements of the contemporary antiwar movement is the fact that the commonality of basic aims is beginning more and more to show its effect within it, despite all the diversity and dissimilarity of its component parts and of the forces operating within it. This is primarily the beneficial result of the internal dialogue that has developed within the antiwar movement with unprecedented intensity. One's attention is drawn by the fact that the spontaneous mass antimilitarism of the broadest strata of population (including those totally inexperienced in politics), alarmed by the threat of war, has served as a unifying principle in dialogue and as a special kind of cementing factor. Ordinary people have rejected the logic of the nuclear missile arms race and have refused to believe that the deployment of new first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe could strengthen security and reduce the threat of an annihilating nuclear war.

The promilitarist press and the reactionary politicians have made energetic efforts to discredit these expressions of mass awareness as allegedly being harmful and incompetent. Imperialist propaganda is spreading the myth that the "hand of Moscow" is actively involved in the antiwar movements, bourgeois ideologues "gravely" lecture in the press that "fear is a poor counselor" and that "responsible decisions are not made in the street," and the like.

Meanwhile, today it is a fact that the most weighty words in discussions on peace in recent years have been uttered precisely by "the street," by that mass of ordinary people who frequently place no great trust in arguments, relying more on their own common sense and feelings. This phenomenon merits special attention. It seems to us that the concentrated experience of the preceding antiwar struggle has made an imprint on the mass antiwar protest of our period, having enriched the mass awareness and influenced the formation of alternative thinking on questions of security among various strata of population.

[AU220603] The masses--and the broadest masses at that--have now essentially surpassed the level at which they were in the fifties or even in the sixties, that is, in the period of relatively passive actions such as "without us" or "without me" movements. The participants of antiwar actions toward the end of the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties (in particular, during the campaign against neutron weapons) passed through a major and useful school and mastered specialized knowledge and a large volume of information that had been previously outside their field of vision and interest.

A positive role was played in this connection among others also by some research centers and groups that were formed within the movement itself and which made a considerable contribution to the movement's correct orientation. As a result of their activity, it was not only the individual scientists, experts, and preparatory groups but precisely the masses--tens and hundreds of thousands of antimilitarist activists--who were able to unmask, objectively and with facts and figures in their hands, the mendacious references by NATO strategists to the need to restore the "balance of forces" that had allegedly been disrupted by the Soviet Union. Antimilitarist activists themselves understood and were able to explain to others that the new American missiles in Europe are intended exclusively for a first, "disarming" strike against the USSR and its allies.

As distinct from the past (we only recall speculations of advocates of militarist preparations and rearming in the fifties), the masses in the West are now able to more closely examine the foreign policy of the USSR and of the other socialist countries and to evaluate their peaceful initiatives. They rejected the analogy--forced upon public opinion--between the Pershing missiles and the Soviet medium-range SS-20 missiles that are intended as a replacement of obsolete analogous missiles and in no way change the existing military-strategic balance.

As a result, there is a fact that deserves special attention: Precisely the masses have worked out the main slogan of the campaign in recent years, the slogan of not allowing the siting of new American missiles in Europe. The antiwar organizations have received this demand from the broadest public, proposing it as the key peaceful alternative to the militarist course of the U.S. ruling circles. The continuing process of the advancing maturity of the antiwar movement has found expression in this: The impulses and demands, originating among the masses themselves and assuming their final and clear character in the form of slogans formulated by the vanguard forces, are returning to the movement to take hold of it and give it a new scope.

In the course of internal discussions and multilateral dialogue, the antiwar movement has not only worked out the basic, leading and decisive slogan of the moment but it has also raised a number of other more particular (or, on the contrary, more general and calculated for the longer term) ideas, proposals and projects. As distinct from the main slogan, many of these ideas and concepts are not built on the foundation of the masses and quite frequently belong only to individual organizations. At the same time, these ideas (even if they are criticized or disputed by other trends) are of major interest as a testimony to the growing creative force of the movement and to the search for approaches to solving difficult and complicated problems connected with the creation of prerequisites for real disarmament and for establishing peace without weapons.

The worldwide nature of the contemporary antiwar movement, the unprecedented breadth of the sociopolitical forces represented in it, and the participation in the movement of the mass strata of the public of countries with different social systems--all this represents one of the important sources of the growth of the movement's potential opportunities to influence the development of the

international situation and the solving of the cardinal problems of the preservation and consolidation of peace. In the present aggravated international conditions, the realization of these opportunities is connected to a great extent with the prospects for mutual understanding and interaction primarily between the two main detachments of the movement, that is, the defenders of peace in the socialist states and the antiwar public in the capitalist countries. Progress in this direction is extraordinarily important for transforming the worldwide antiwar movement of the public into a more effective factor of world politics, a factor that will really contribute to a turn from confrontation to detente and international cooperation.

We are far from underestimating the difficulties connected with this problem. The participants in the antiwar movements in the West and East are acting under different conditions, solving different tasks, and struggling in different ways for an antiwar political course corresponding to general interests. Disagreements arise and cannot but arise between them especially in connection with the problems concerning the determination of priorities and emphases in their concrete actions. The opponents of detente and disarmament try to speculate on this fact and strive to split and divide the peace-loving public, and to set the antiwar movement in the West and the peace movement in the socialist countries against each other and push them apart.

Counteractions against these attempts are a task of principled importance. A radical turn in the course of world events toward a revival of detente and international cooperation can only be made as a result of active engagement of peace-loving states and the efforts of a strong united worldwide antiwar movement. But under conditions of isolation of the antiwar movement in the capitalist countries from the mass peace movement in the socialist countries, for which the advocates of "cold war" strive, it would be much more difficult to achieve this lofty goal.

[AU220604]. In the present very difficult international situation, it is especially important for the broad antiwar forces in the West and East to clearly recognize the vital interests that are common to all of them. Guided by these interests, they must jointly search for points of contact that will contribute to solving the problem of preservation and consolidation of peace. Emphasizing precisely these tasks should not be understood as an aspiration to disregard the objectively existing ideological and political differences within the antiwar movement, or to avoid discussions about critical topics. We are in favor of discussing any questions that trouble the participants in the antiwar movement in the West and East. However, what is important is to overcome disagreements on concrete issues on the basis of respect for the autonomy and equality of all detachments of the contemporary antiwar movement for the sake of the ultimate goal, the goal of preventing a thermonuclear catastrophe and preserving and consolidating peace.

One of the prime tasks of dialogue within the framework of the antiwar movement, and primarily between the public in socialist and capitalist states, is that of overcoming prejudices and wrong ideas about one another, and assisting understanding of the real views and positions of the sides, which are often deliberately distorted by opponents of the antiwar movement. Definite progress

has been achieved in this sphere in recent years. This is attested to by the successful results of major international forums of defenders of peace from many countries which were held during 1983-84 and at which antiwar organizations and movements from both the East and the West were broadly represented. These include: The World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War (Prague), the Second World Conference: A Dialogue on the Problems of Disarmament and Detente (Vienna), the Conference-Consultation of Nongovernmental Organizations on the Problems of the World Campaign for Disarmament and the Prevention of Nuclear War (Geneva), a session of the Special Committee of Nongovernmental Organizations for Disarmament (Geneva), the All-European Conference of Representatives of National Peace Movements (Athens), and sessions of the World Peace Council.

Analysis of the documents adopted by these forums shows that a fairly broad range of coinciding concrete demands was determined:

In the sphere of nuclear missile systems in Europe, the main demand is that NATO's decision to deploy 572 American first-strike missiles in Western Europe be annulled and that missiles already deployed there be removed from the continent;

In the sphere of the global curtailment of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, slogans support freezing and reducing nuclear arsenals, totally banning and liquidating accumulated stockpiles of nuclear weapons, conducting international negotiations for this purpose, and concluding appropriate treaties;

In the sphere of lessening the risk of an outbreak of nuclear war, there is a demand to decisively condemn nuclear war, demand that the nuclear powers reject the first use of nuclear weapons and pursue a policy of detente, and demand the break up of military blocs;

In other spheres, there is a demand that all forms of mass destruction weapons be banned, including the building of new types of these weapons and the utilization of outer space for military purposes, and also that conventional weapons and military expenditure be reduced and military resources be channeled into satisfying peaceful needs.

The coinciding demands of "Western" and "Eastern" peace movements are not exhausted by the examples cited. But even they give a clear idea of the process of the drawing together of the sides' positions in the interests of fulfilling tasks common to all and of the concretization of the general platform of antiwar social forces on key issues in the struggle to prevent a nuclear war, curb the arms race and achieve disarmament.

Of particular significance in the contemporary situation is intensified dialogue and also serious and frank discussion of issues regarding which the sides still adopt different approaches, vagueness exists and disagreements arise. There is no doubt that the central place here is occupied by the problems of really reducing the danger of war and curbing both the nuclear missile and conventional arms race.



In the conditions of the deployment of American first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe that has now begun and the forced countermeasures taken by the socialist states, many participants in antiwar actions regard the problem of finding ways of halting and reversing the process of building up nuclear weapons in a particularly serious light. It should be noted that in the numerous statements made on this matter the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe, which began at the end of 1983, is characterized, with total justification, as an adventurist action aimed at the further quantitative and qualitative escalation of arms on the part of the United States and its NATO allies. In this respect, in a number of cases the thesis is developing that in the new situation the Soviet Union should take the unilateral initiative of freezing its nuclear weapons, and doubts are expressed regarding the expediency of the series of reciprocal measures it has adopted together with allied countries for the purpose of strengthening its defense capabilities.

This opinion, we deeply believe, is erroneous. It should be emphasized that the countermeasures taken by the USSR and other countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact are by no means aimed at further whipping up the nuclear arms race in Europe. They are of a forced nature and were provoked exclusively by the appearance of new American missiles on the continent. These reciprocal actions are not aimed at gaining military superiority, but at wrecking the adventurist plans of the American administration, which is actively preparing for a nuclear war. What is more, the aforementioned measures are of a limited nature and are kept strictly within the limits of what is necessary to maintain the balance of forces and to neutralize the concrete danger emanating from the United States and NATO, and emanating in particular from those areas where the new American missiles are located.

[AU220605] And in the new situation, which has become more complicated as a result of the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet state, which reflects the interests of all our people, continues to expend energetic efforts in order to break the dangerous course of events. It persistently urges the leaders of the United States and the West European states to once again weigh up all the consequences with which both their own peoples and the whole of mankind are threatened by the deployment of new American missiles in Europe and to return to the situation that existed before the deployment of these missiles in Western Europe.

Also unfounded are attempts to represent the Soviet measures to maintain its necessary defense might as the reflection of a desire to create the potential for carrying out a first nuclear strike. Soviet security policy and Soviet defensive military doctrine are oriented toward preventing war, protecting the peoples from aggression and defending peace. They proceed from the lack of prospects in nuclear war and from the absence of a reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence.

A graphic example of the defensive nature of the USSR's military policy is its unilateral adoption of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This obligation is not simply a declarative statement, but a step of great practical significance.



Thus, the Soviet measures are of a strictly defensive nature and are not oriented toward creating an overwhelming military superiority, and certainly not toward unleashing a nuclear war. Achieving political, military, or any other goals is not connected with nuclear war. There are no such concepts as "first strike," "warning strike," "preemptive strike," and so forth in Soviet defensive military doctrine. The Soviet Union does not aspire to the mass production of offensive weapons, to numerical superiority in nuclear warheads, to imitation of U.S. actions in the sphere of escalating military expenditure, and so forth. The countermeasures taken by the Soviet side in the military sphere, including in Europe, are aimed at neutralizing the military advantages that the United States counts on gaining in order to pursue a policy of blackmail and nuclear aggression. The USSR's countermeasures are essential in order to restrain the other side from reckless attempts to shatter our peaceful life and destroy the security of the entire socialist community.

One sometimes hears allegations in the antiwar movement in the West that the measures adopted by the USSR in response to the deployment of American missiles in Europe are of little use, because as a result of a further arms race on the continent the level of security of the USSR, Europe and the whole world will inevitably fall. Of course, the level of security of the USSR and of other European countries would be so much the higher, the greater the success in lowering the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe. Proceeding precisely from this principle, the USSR proposed freeing Europe from nuclear weapons--both tactical and intermediate-range--or, as a start, fundamentally reducing nuclear weapons on both sides on the basis of the principle of parity. But this proposal was rejected, and the United States embarked on implementing a long-term program for sharply increasing intermediate-range missiles on the European continent, having wrecked negotiations both on strategic weapons and on nuclear weapons in Europe. The aim of this policy is to break the existing balance of forces, gain military superiority, and build up a completely new nuclear arsenal intended by virtue of its qualitative parameters for carrying out a first--"disarming"--strike, that is, for striking strategic systems, command centers, and communications means in the USSR. Precisely within this context, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were compelled to adopt the necessary countermeasures, because there was no other way of bridling those who nurture the mad idea of a first nuclear strike. Without these countermeasures, the peace and tranquillity of the peoples of Europe and other continents would be threatened by a still greater danger. If such measures had not been adopted and the United States had succeeded in gaining strategic superiority, there is no doubt that the temptation for adventurist-minded politicians and members of the military to arrange a test of forces would increase, and likewise their confidence of success. And the situation in respect to general security would be even more alarming than it is now.

What has been said, of course, in no way reduces the historic significance of the task of curbing the nuclear arms race and setting it in reverse. The resolving of this cardinal problem is the way to insuring reliable security for all.

The Soviet concepts to defense capability, the balance of forces, and equal security are precisely oriented toward strenuous actions in favor of peaceful

coexistence and the strengthening of international trust, and also toward extensive, comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and all other states in fulfilling the tasks of curbing the arms race and consistently lowering the level of military confrontation. And there are no grounds for likening these concepts in any way to the doctrines current in certain military-political circles in NATO countries of a "balance of fear," "nuclear deterrence," constant acceleration in the qualitative arms race, and hostile confrontation between states belonging to the two systems.

Let us take, for example, the problem of nuclear weapons, the balance of nuclear forces, and nuclear deterrence. The stand taken by the USSR in this matter is clear. Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union is against competition in the build up of nuclear arsenals. The USSR was and remains a consistent advocate of banning and destroying all forms of nuclear weapons. Soviet proposals on this score have long been submitted for consideration by the corresponding international forums. However, discussion of these proposals is being blocked by the United States and its closest allies.

[AU220606] Recognizing the necessity for a balance of forces and guaranteed stability in the military-strategic sphere, the Soviet Union strives to create a security system which would be based primarily on a peaceful policy. As far as the USSR is concerned, possessing nuclear weapons makes sense exclusively for the purpose of showing a potential aggressor that any attempt to attack us would be suicidal for him. Thus, it is only a question of deterrence and defense, and of forced efforts dictated by historical experience and real dangers. In the Soviet concept of security, an important place is given to the thesis that the situation of the balance of nuclear forces in Europe and throughout the world must be utilized as a transitional stage for progressing along the path of consistently reducing all nuclear weapons on the basis of reciprocity and equal security.

In the contemporary situation, particularly essential and important is a creative search for ways which in the new, more complex conditions could break the spiral of the arms race and prevent a nuclear catastrophe. But would this happen if the USSR were to comply with proposals that, in the conditions of an escalation in nuclear weapons on the part of the United States and NATO and the threat of these weapons being used to carry out a first strike, it unilaterally agrees to freeze its own nuclear weapons and refrain from adopting countermeasures? Would such a decision be conducive to reciprocal restraint on the part of the American leadership? Obviously, these questions can only be answered in the negative.

As is well known, acquiring the ability to carry out an "accurate first strike" is the aim of the strategic course of the present U.S. administration. Washington's strategy of "direct confrontation" with the USSR envisages gaining "complete and indisputable" military superiority, being the first to use nuclear weapons, and "prevailing" in a nuclear conflict. The military policy directive drawn up by the U.S. Department of Defense for 1984-88 officially states the aim of destroying socialism as a sociopolitical system. To all appearances, the new U.S. nuclear missile weapons in Western Europe are assigned a strike role in these plans: to break the existing approximate

balance of forces, form a nuclear missile base on the European continent for the purposes of carrying out a first strike and waging various forms of nuclear war--"limited," "regional," "protracted," and so forth. The fact that the U.S. leadership is taking practical steps to carry out these plans is also attested to by the deployment of American missiles in Europe specially designed for carrying out a first, "disarming" strike.

Of course, intensified political pressure on the part of the mass peace movement could create a powerful counterweight to Washington's reckless plans in the future. However, the stark reality is that, even in the present period of unprecedented growth in the activeness of antiwar social forces in the United States, the FRG, Great Britain and a number of other NATO countries, the aggressive group of U.S. ruling circles and their allies nevertheless continue to implement large-scale, offensive military programs, deploy first-strike American missiles in Europe, and step up other military preparations.

Naturally, the socialist community could not help and cannot help but consider this fact of reality if it is not to weaken its own ability to stand up to pressure and blackmail on the part of politicians who have declared a "crusade" against socialism and who strive to provide this adventurist premise with a concrete nuclear missile basis. The corresponding countermeasures taken by the USSR and other states in the socialist community are oriented toward making the potential aggressor realise that it would be disadvantageous for him to begin direct military actions against the countries of socialism.

If U.S. and NATO leaders were really prepared to renounce their attempts to gain military superiority over others, they have had more than sufficient occasion to demonstrate this willingness. Such an opportunity has been provided by the USSR's major unilateral initiatives, including that of introducing a moratorium on the deployment of Soviet intermediate-range missiles and reducing their number. Such an opportunity has also been provided by the USSR's pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and not to be the first to introduce antisatellite weapons into outer space. U.S. reaction to these acts of military restraint has been simple: The White House has invariably responded to them by forcing the pace of implementing more and more new programs for building and deploying nuclear weapons, and it has refused to take on any commitments itself regarding limitations in this sphere. The Washington administration blocks progress in the most diverse spheres of arms limitation and disarmament: preventing the arms race from spreading into outer space, banning chemical weapons, ceasing the testing of nuclear weapons, taking practical steps to prevent a nuclear war, freezing nuclear arsenals, implementing confidence measures in Europe, and so forth.

As far as the USSR is concerned, it has proposed and upholds a broad and realistic program for measures, the implementation of which would make it possible to break the destructive spiral of the arms race, reverse it, and insure a decisive turn toward radical steps in the sphere of disarmament. The package of proposals put forward by the USSR includes, in particular, immediately freezing all nuclear arsenals, preventing the arms race from spreading into outer space, radically lowering the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe,

limiting and fundamentally reducing strategic weapons, banning and destroying chemical weapons, and adopting measures to reduce military expenditure.

The Soviet Union upholds the proposal that all nuclear powers regard as of paramount importance in their policies the task of preventing a nuclear war, and base their relations on norms pursuing the aim of peace, including the obligation to achieve step by step and on the basis of the principle of equal security a reduction in nuclear weapons until they are totally liquidated in all their forms.

[AU220607] Renewal of the political process leading to nuclear disarmament would be assisted to a considerable extent by the adoption of Soviet proposals to restore and strengthen international trust, which have been introduced at the Stockholm conference. They include both large-scale steps of a political and international-legal nature (rejection of the first use of nuclear weapons, and a proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual nonuse of force between the Warsaw Pact member-states and NATO member-states), and measures of a military-technical nature. The adoption of these proposals would be a major contribution to strengthening international security and would facilitate the adoption of urgent measures in the sphere of nuclear arms limitation and reduction. The Statement by the USSR Council of Ministers, approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 12 April 1984, confirms the Soviet Union's readiness to "negotiate on radical measures to limit and reduce arms on the equitable basis of the principle of parity and equal security." (Footnote 1) (IZVESTIYA, 13 April 1984)

However, the efforts of one side alone cannot break the spiral of the arms race and certainly cannot reverse it. Reciprocal efforts by nuclear powers, extensive and active cooperation between all states, more effective participation by peace-loving forces in the struggle for disarmament, and the overcoming of resistance on the part of those circles of bourgeois society which, for various motives, are not interested in detente, disarmament, and the adoption of other measures to eliminate the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, are necessary for this.

The Soviet Union's proposal to conduct negotiations with the United States on a whole complex of mutually connected issues relating to the nonmilitarization of outer space and the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate-range nuclear weapons was an event of world significance. The peace-loving public received with great satisfaction the news that the USSR and the United States had agreed to begin new talks with the aim of reaching mutually acceptable agreements on a whole complex of mutually connected problems relating to nuclear and space weapons. In this respect the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are in favor of the subject, aims, and tasks of these talks being clearly determined from the very outset. The world has not forgotten how, under cover of arms limitation and reduction talks, U.S. leaders began an unprecedented build up of nuclear weapons.

Under the influence of the firm and active peace-loving policies of the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries, and growing antimilitarist actions by the broad world public, the American administration has been compelled to resort to disguising its aggressive course, to use "peace-loving" rhetoric, and to lavish magnificent declarations of its "devotion to peace."

But the peoples have now learned to judge an attitude to peace not by words, but by real deeds, real steps to reduce arms, and practical measures in the struggle to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

The qualitatively new, dangerous situation connected with an escalation in the nuclear arms race cannot help but give rise to increasing concern among the broadest strata of the population in various countries in both East and West, and also cannot help but prompt social thinking to active search for ways of getting out of the impasses engendered by the growth in arms and the build up of mass destruction weapons throughout the world. The aforementioned proposals made by the USSR envisage real paths leading to a change for the better in the entire international situation, and to the curtailment and reversing of the process of armament.

But we do not believe that these proposals alone merit attention. Interesting ideas and initiatives also come from representatives of various sectors of the peace-loving community in the West, who, like us, are alarmed by the threatening trends in international development, particularly in the sphere of weapons. We are prepared to openly discuss these ideas and initiatives and to seek those elements in them that follow the direction of safeguarding joint interests and general security. And we remind you that the main principle of the international policies pursued by the countries of the socialist community is that of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and the achievement of universal and lasting peace on earth.

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INTERNATIONAL

IZVESTIYA CITES AFRICAN CRITICISMS OF SDI

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 20 May 85 pp 1-3

[Article by F. Konopikhin: "Africa Against the Star Wars"]

[Text] The Star Wars Programme of President Reagan has become a subject of heated debates on both sides of the Atlantic. No wonder. The buildup of the arms race in space primarily threatens the very existence of the people in Europe and North America. But the people on other continents are not staying away from the mounting struggle against the contemplated new round of militarization either. The sinister schemes of the U.S. administration arouse grave concern in Africa. "The development of secret weapons of mass destruction must step aside before the problem of the survival of the human race," said the Nigerian head of state, Muhammadu Buhari.

The drought-ravaged Africa which faces colossal economic difficulties after the long decades of colonial oppression refuses to accept the fact that Washington is planning to shovel new billions of dollars into the furnace of war preparations at a time when hundreds of thousands of Africans are dying of hunger. "Huge sums are being spent on the development of increasingly sophisticated means of killing in the world where billions of people hardly have the minimal means to survive," says the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, Denis Sassou-Nguesso. "It is obvious that the arms race of ever new weapons does not guarantee any greater security. On the contrary, it is the source of a still greater risk for mankind."

The concern of the African public is quite understandable. This is because the peoples of Africa have to bear a considerable share of the burden of arms spending. As some observers believe, of the trillion dollars which is the estimated aggregate price of the deployment of this new American arms system in space, the funds obtained by transnational corporations and foreign investors as a result of the exploitation of the mineral and other natural resources of Africa will make up about one-third.

The initiators of the militarization of space are powerless to convince the African public that the Reagan programme has an "exclusively research character" and is aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons and reducing the threat of war. The people in Africa perfectly realize that the accomplishment of the American

programme will jeopardize the security of all states, including African countries. Instead of developing new arms systems on the ground and in space, it is imperative, say the Africans, to reduce nuclear armaments and to scrap them altogether in the future. "The stick which can put out an eye is not to be sharpened but broken off," reads an old African proverb.

The press in many African countries sharply criticizes the politicians and public figures who are assessing the Star Wars as a conflict which will supposedly not affect Africa. "Nuclear war in any form will equally affect all, and there will be no victory or defeat in such a war: only complete destruction and a lethal contamination of the atmosphere," writes the Kenyan paper SUNDAY STANDARD.

In case of a global conflict Africa will be unable to evade a direct strike since nuclear explosives will be targeted on foreign bases of the warring countries, writes a commentator of the Nigerian paper THE GUARDIAN. He singles out Egypt, Kenya, Somalia, Tunisia, Morocco and also South Africa as the countries whose territory is being used or may be used by the American armed forces for deploying their missile installations or stationing their bombers there. The Kenyan newspapers point out that the U.S. allies have practically no opportunity to control the presence of nuclear explosives on their territory and have no right to ban their deployment.

In this connection the Lagos-based newspaper THE NEW NIGERIAN points to the adventurism of the position of President Reagan who puts the interests of the military-industrial complex above the need to preserve human civilization. Another Nigerian paper, THE NATIONAL CONCORD, points to the contradiction between Reagan's appeals for stopping the nuclear arms race and his Star Wars plans. Condemning the Pentagon's drive for military superiority over the USSR, the paper points out that the Soviet Union was always forced to respond to new challenges from the United States which was always the initiator of each new round of the arms race.

Seeking to block the insane plans of Washington to transfer the arms race into space, the peace-loving public of Africa duly appreciates the importance and urgency of the Soviet initiatives aimed at preventing the militarization of space and at curbing the arms race.

(IZVESTIA, May 10. In full.)

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INTERNATIONAL

KIVA VIEWS PRESENT, FUTURE ON AFRICA LIBERATION DAY

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 85 pp 9-10

[Article by Alexei Kiva, doctor of Historical Sciences: "The Ups and Downs on the Way to Genuine Independence"]

[Text] "The Soviet Union has always supported the struggle of peoples for their liberation from colonial yoke. And today we sympathise with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are advancing along the road of independent development and social renewal. They are our friends and partners in the struggle for a lasting peace, and for better and just relations among peoples."

From the speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered at the March 11, 1985, CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting.

Africa Liberation Day, commemorating the founding of the Organisation of African Unity on May 25, 1963 was celebrated this year by all progressive people of the continent and the world over, together with the 25th anniversary of Year of Africa--the unforgettable year of 1960, when one after another, 17 countries won their independence. By the end of that year there were, together with already existing states, 25 independent states--exactly half of what we see on the map today.

In the autumn of the same year, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the 15th UN General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, thus making the abolition of colonialism a top priority and calling on the world community to give moral and material support to the national liberation movement, which from then on had acquired a firm legal foundation.

What then has Africa achieved in the past quarter of a century? There is no doubt that over this period the African liberation movement has scored some outstanding victories, despite great difficulties and a number of setbacks.

The important thing is that it was Africa in the 1960s that put paid to colonialism as a world system. The newly independent countries worked vigorously to set up a new system of interstate relations, elaborating the principles of foreign policy, and mapping out their social orientation.



The establishment of the Organisation of African Unity was in itself a great achievement. This unique international organisation, the first of its kind in history, has managed to resolve a number of most complex problems pertaining to rallying support for the liberation struggle of peoples still under the colonial yoke, and dealing with the aftereffects of colonial slavery in the newly independent countries, including territorial disputes.

True, the Organisation of African Unity was at times unable to cope with some problems, which fact has been the object of much gloating among imperialists. On the other hand, the partial failures and weak points of the OAU were closely studied by African patriots, and the world's progressives. Analysing all this, an objective observer would conclude that things could hardly have been otherwise in an organisation of states with different social and foreign orientations, political structures and foreign loyalties. As a matter of fact, the growing polarisation of the African countries in these and other fields will have an increasing effect on the OAU. However, this centrifugal trend is not gradually being counterbalanced by a more stable and accelerating tendency to unite forces on the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial basis. It can be said that the OAU has found the fundamental principles which can help it fulfil its mission despite the objective process of differentiation.

The first of these principles is anti-imperialism. This trend was manifest before, changing shape at various periods and in different conditions, but today it is spearheaded against the neocolonialist exploitation of young developing countries, which is the main obstacle to real independence and to economic and social progress.

Anti-imperialism is closely linked with anti-colonialism, which has in the past rallied the African peoples in their struggle against direct colonial oppression and for independence for all the countries on the continent, today, anti-colonialism aims to abolish the last stronghold of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

The principle of nonalignment, which is written into the OAU Charter and is mandatory for all its members, has over the years, by the very logic of their struggle for real independence has taken on an increasingly pronounced anti-imperialist colouring. Many African countries that have entered into open conflict with imperialism are now developing broad cooperation with the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community.

It becomes clear that nonalignment, which in its narrow meaning implies non-participation in military and political blocks of the two systems does not mean self-isolation for the newly independent states. On the contrary, the socialist community is helping them to become a force to be reckoned with internationally and promoting an independent foreign policy even before they overcome their economic dependence on the capitalist world. Moreover, the nonaligned movement has helped and continues to help these countries coordinate efforts in restructuring the entire system of international relations, above all, economic relations, on a just and democratic basis.

Choosing the road of their future development--towards capitalism or towards socialism--has also been difficult. The overwhelming majority of the people have flatly rejected the first and opted for the second, however, it has not always been possible to translate this sentiment into practical action. The main obstacle, both objective and subjective, lies in the fact that the long-term effects of colonialism on the economy and mentality of the newly-emerged nations--those that cannot be eradicated overnight--pulled the young states towards capitalism by inertia. In other words, capitalist orientation had already been inherited whereas for socialism they had to struggle. Besides, what was meant by socialism?

The masses were attracted to socialism more intuitively than consciously, as it symbolised the antithesis of the much-hated capitalism. Paradoxically, this intuitiveness was both the strong and the weak point of the proclaimed adherence to socialism: strong, because "socialism" was a universally understood slogan around which people would rally; weak because many things, even some purely bourgeois ideas, can be attributed to socialism. Not openly bourgeois, of course, but dressed up in national costume and painted in bright local colour.

That is exactly what happened in certain African countries. "Socialism African style", "Islamic style", "Arab style", etc., mushroomed in tropical and northern Africa. The fact that such doctrines had very little to do with real socialism and could not serve as a guide for radical social change was duly noted by Western ideologists who then started popularising these ideas through the media, giving them the "kiss of death", so to speak.

However, some points do need to be cleared up. In the first place, among the advocates of the various shades of "national socialism", there were many sincere opponents of capitalism who later realised that their theories were built on sand. Secondly, it was only too natural that in the 1960s, when in many countries an upsurge in the national liberation movement swept away the hated colonialists who had for centuries been trampling underfoot African customs, culture and history--there should appear as a reaction theories enormously exaggerating African uniqueness and claiming that "African socialism" was rooted in pre-colonial tribal society.

Africa had to go through the painful process of finding its place in the world and history. That was the beginning of the long road to real independence and social advancement, in the course of which the more far-seeing leaders, who expressed the real needs of the African peoples, were gradually shedding their illusions about African exclusiveness. Paraphrasing Lenin, they have learned the hard truth that in the newly independent African countries, socialism could be built only on a scientific basis, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and not overnight, but only after a more or less prolonged period of non-capitalist development or, as we now usually put it, socialist orientation.

When in the 1960s the imperialist counter-offensive managed to bring down several progressive governments, this was seen by some as a crisis of the very model of socialist orientation. And in the West, of course, such setbacks were belaboured at length and with gusto. But it was a bit too early to crow: the "socialism experiment", as they put it, was not "a flop". On the contrary, the number of countries to choose the socialist road kept growing, and the ruling revolutionary democratic parties in those countries had learned a lot from the mistakes of their predecessors. Without this experience, there could not in the 1970s have been a second generation of socialist-orientated states which from the very start proclaimed scientific socialism to be their theoretical basis.

The 1970s saw yet another triumphant wave of the national liberation movement. The military victories scored by the patriotic forces in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, and at the same time the anti-fascist revolution in Portugal, shattered to pieces Portugal's colonial empire, giving birth to sovereign states with progressive regimes. Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe was next in line to break out of the colonial chain when national progressive forces after a long struggle against the racist regime foiled the imperialists' plans to install a puppet government there, and took the socialist road instead, the fact now written into their programme documents. In South Africa, the citadel of apartheid and the last survival of the sinister alliance, the strategic position of the racist regime has rapidly deteriorated; the 1976 uprising in Soweto marked the beginning of a mass liberation movement of the oppressed Black majority, headed by the African National Congress. Namibian patriots continue their armed struggle, headed by SWAPO, against the South African occupation.

Another historic event was the anti-monarchist and anti-feudal people's revolution in Ethiopia. This ancient country, which US imperialism had always considered its foothold in the Red Sea region, chose socialism as its future.

The African national liberation movement has become more experienced in politics and ideologically more sophisticated too, having learned to tell its friends from its enemies. Alliance has continued to develop between the socialist community, revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries, and the liberation movement in Africa. A new high level of relations was reached between the socialist countries and the young states with a socialist orientation. For instance, the Soviet Union has concluded treaties of friendship and cooperation with Angola, Mozambique, Congo, and Ethiopia.

Such growing contacts between many African countries and the socialist community in all fields, including assistance in building up the young countries' defence potential, have caused much fretting and fuming in the West. Accustomed to being the all-powerful tyrants in Africa for centuries, the imperialists could not bear to part with their former possessions and are now trying to recoup their losses of the 1970s.

The United States, especially under the Reagan Administration, and its partners have launched a worldwide offensive against the national liberation movement, including Africa. With Israel and South Africa as its strategic allies, the US is using its "constructive cooperation" with Pretoria to neutralise the frontline states, especially Angola and Mozambique, by means of various diplomatic agreements—in addition to direct pressure on those countries—and also to block off a just settlement of the Namibian question, interfere in the hostilities in Chad, and wage an all-out anti-Libyan campaign. Meanwhile, Washington applies political pressure and economic blackmail to many other African countries to force them to give up their anti-imperialist policies, open them up to capitalist development, and finally gain full control over them. In so doing, full advantage is taken of the economic hardships in most of the African countries, caused first of all by neo-colonialist exploitation and now aggravated by prolonged drought, their overwhelming financial debts and their continued economic dependence on the West.

The national liberation movement as a whole and in Africa in particular, is today going through a difficult period. However, there is no doubt that the present imperialist counter-offensive will be beaten off with the help and support of the socialist community and other democratic and peace-loving forces, just as it happened several times before since World War II. One cannot change the objective laws of social evolution, one cannot reverse the course of history. ■

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INTERNATIONAL

FOOD PRODUCTION DIFFICULTIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA DISCUSSED

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[Article by Sergey Belenchuk: "Africa, Providing Enough Food"]

[Text]

**A**gricultural production in virtually all African countries has worsened significantly over the past decade and become critical. This has aggravated the problem of adequate food supplies for the population. For about 150 million inhabitants of many areas on the continent chronic malnutrition has given way to actual hunger.<sup>1</sup>

The crisis is rooted first of all in the colonial heritage of the past. Africa's agriculture, which was developed unevenly prior to independence, cannot increase the production of foodstuffs sufficiently to keep up with the rate of urbanisation and population growth. The bulk of the food continues to be supplied by farms working on the basis of natural and semi-natural economies whose share in the output of staple foodstuffs ranges from 70 to 90 per cent. At the same time, the migration rate of peasants to the towns is growing all the time, and in the 1970s outstripped the figures for natural population growth by a third. The share of those employed in agriculture among the economically active population dropped in 1975-1981 from 71.5 to 64.7 per cent.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> In countries of socialist orientation, measures are being taken to ensure the genuine development of all branches of the economy, including agriculture. But profound social transformations have begun only comparatively recently in these countries and they have not yet had sufficient time to overcome the main difficulties typical of the entire continent's agrarian sector. So further in this article, states of socialist orientation will not be singled out, to ensure a fuller treatment of the problems facing most African states in general.

<sup>2</sup> *FAO Production Yearbook, 1981*, Vol. 35, Rome, 1982.

growing share of female and child labour qualitatively worsened the composition of labour resources. In Botswana, for instance, adult males are permanently or temporarily absent in about 40 per cent of all peasant households. In some parts of Zambia, only a fifth of the men aged from 20 to 55 live in the countryside, and about a quarter of all farms are run by women. Such farms have no access to credits and more advanced technology because the men, who have left in search of better earnings, nominally remain heads of households and owners of the land.

Meanwhile, the solvent demand for foodstuffs in the towns is rapidly growing and is determined not only by the mounting migration to towns but also by the larger incomes of some social groups (in particular, the middle layers). So the African countryside, which sometimes is not able to feed even itself, cannot feed the towns either. This is the root cause of the food crisis in Tropical Africa, and it is mirrored first of all in the shortage of marketable foodstuffs.

This crisis acquired dramatic new dimensions in the 1970s and 1980s because of a series of droughts that hit one subregion of the continent after another. It should be noted, however, that such droughts come in cycles and are not anything new. The bourgeois mass media, having, on the one hand, shown the world public the tragedy of the droughts in Tropical Africa (something it knew almost nothing about in the past) then attempted to reduce the causes of the crisis of agrarian production on the continent to bad weather. In reality, it is precisely the stagnation and crisis in the African countryside that has made agriculture there increasingly vulnerable to the whims of the weather.

For this reason as well as due to the increasing demands of the urban population, the growth of food production in Tropical Africa as a whole lagged behind population growth. Per capita food production in 1979-1981 amounted to only 90 per cent of the 1969-1971 level. During this period, it increased only in the Ivory Coast, Burundi, Cameroun, Sudan, Tunisia and the Central African Republic.

Thus, the task of providing the population with at least the minimum amount of food acquired prime importance for most African countries both economically and politically. Special attention was given to supplying the towns, because on the continent, it is precisely this population that comprises the major politically active force. Measures were taken to increase food imports, which in terms of physical volume, went up by 170 per cent in 1970-1981, and in terms of money spent as much as 690 per cent.<sup>3</sup> Less than 20 per cent of the imported foodstuffs were shipped to Africa on favourable terms.

As for local production of foodstuffs, here the governments of African countries encountered formidable obstacles. They did not make effective use of the mechanism of procurement prices to stimulate this production, both for lack of financial resources in most countries and because of the relative cheapness of imported foodstuffs on the local market, mainly due to the jacked up exchange rates of national currencies. In turn, the import of foodstuffs encouraged changes in consumption patterns of the urban population, which began to give preference to wheat and rice, which can be grown only on a limited scale in Africa.

The fragile balance between low retail prices for staple foodstuffs, the meagre earnings of the working people, the relatively low cost of imported food and very low procurement prices held in most African countries all the way up to the mid-1970s. This enabled governments to balance their spending and revenues in one way or another.

The substantial growth of world food prices in the mid-1970s forced the African countries to search more actively for ways of developing and increasing their own production. But the acute shortage of funds ruled out not only the possibility of any large-scale investments in the agrarian sector but also of any realistic increase in the procurement prices that lagged behind the inflation rate.<sup>4</sup> This also applies to those countries where procurement prices were raised to the

level of world market prices (when estimated according to the official exchange rate). In Nigeria, for instance, the official procurement prices for staple food crops were raised in 1980 by an average of 50 per cent and since then have hardly changed. But the rate of inflation there in 1980 was 25 per cent, while in 1981 it reached 42 per cent.

In other countries of the continent that lack Nigeria's financial resources, the level of procurement prices for food crops (given comparable rates of inflation and the same extent of raising exchange rates artificially) is even lower and most often, even when calculated according to the official exchange rate, is below the level of world prices.

So for objective reasons—most often those not depending on them—the governments of African countries have not succeeded in creating an effective mechanism for stimulating food production at home. However, food problem continued to grow acute in the 1980s as well. A situation has arisen where certain circles of the Western monopoly bourgeoisie have become interested in easing this crisis, because it could substantially worsen conditions for their business and other activities in Tropical Africa.

A number of reports and studies have appeared in the West which are either devoted exclusively to the problem of adequate food supplies and the agricultural crisis in Africa or treat these issues within the framework of more general problems. One gets the impression that these documents have for the most part been prepared to convince the developing countries that there is no way out of the crisis other than reorganising their national economies in the same "neoconservative fashion" that has now taken the upper hand in the United States.

A special place is held by the report of the IBRD which suggests a programme of action for accelerated development in Africa south of the Sahara.<sup>4</sup> Its main thesis is that the developing countries themselves are to blame for the obtaining situation, first, because they refuse to make use of the price mechanism as the chief means of stimulating the production of foodstuffs for the domestic market and, second, because they hike up exchange rates of their national currencies, thus placing local food producers at a disadvantage due to competition from cheaper imported products, and, finally, they overtax producers of export crops by setting low procurement

<sup>3</sup> *FAO Trade Yearbook, 1981, Vol. 35, Rome, 1982.*

<sup>4</sup> "Le développement accéléré en Afrique au Sud du Sahara. Programme indicatif d'action", Banque mondiale, Washington D. C., 1981.

prices. In effect, the report's recommendations boil down to suggestions that private enterprise be encouraged in every way among the small-time farmers (which will inevitably result in the emergence of a substantial strata of rich farmers), and that the state sector should no longer be relied upon: its main prerogatives should be handed over to the private one.

At the same time the authors of the report are obliged to take public opinion into consideration, and for this reason, to camouflage the reactionary essence of this document by shifting the emphasis from the main causes of the plight of the African countries to secondary ones or to manifestations of the crisis. There is no deny that the young states are not proof against errors and miscalculations, but neocolonialist exploitation is the basic reason for their difficulties because, among other things, it deprives them of the means needed for planned development of the economy as a whole, including agriculture.

Quite naturally, the above-mentioned IBRD document came under heavy attack by both the developing states and the progressives in the West. So in a later report devoted to the economic problems of Tropical Africa, the World Bank experts found it expedient to abandon some of their more odious views. Outright criticism of the state sector as such has been stopped. Mention is only made of the need for reforms that would make it more "sensitive to market fluctuations". Still, what they are driving at is the gradual decline of the state sector paralleled by the simultaneous strengthening of the private sector.<sup>5</sup>

As for the African countries themselves, they officially formulated their common viewpoint on the problem of food supply at the meeting convened by the OAU in Lagos in 1980. The Plan of Action adopted there outlines measures for solving the food problem mostly by developing domestic production and studies the possibility of making mechanisation more widespread improving pest control, and drawing up national and regional programmes to prevent famine. But concrete sources of financing and a framework for the implementation of these measures have not yet been located. So the Plan of Action thus far remains only a document expressing the opinion of most African countries.

The generally sceptical attitude to the prospects of developing agriculture's export sector is typical of this

concept. This approach is also characteristic of a later document, "Famine in Africa", drawn up jointly by the FAO and the OAU. It says that the African governments' policy of developing the production of export crops to the detriment of the production of food for local consumption is one of the causes of hunger in Africa. It also says that the best lands have been allotted to export crops whose producers get the lion's share of credits, various means of production, etc.<sup>6</sup>

In reality, emphasising production of foodstuffs for local consumption only might lead to a situation whereby the African countries would lose their earnings from the export of agricultural produce but still would not be able to feed themselves, because the production of most food crops planned for cultivation in those countries cost an average of three times more than do the main export crops.

Given favourable conditions, positive results will be yielded by a reasonable combination of both trends. As a rule, those countries where export production is being developed with relative success encounter fewer problems with food supplies in general. This is confirmed by the situation in individual countries and by statistics for groups of countries.

Thus, in recent years, cotton production has grown considerably in Mali and Bourkina-Faso. At the same time, areas specialising in cotton growing have also become major centres of grain production for domestic needs. On a more general plane, an analysis of the results of the agricultural development in 40 African countries shows, according to FAO data, that the crisis in production of food for domestic consumption does not depend directly on the growth of the export sector. On the contrary, the dynamics of their development generally coincide. One of the reasons is that the use of more modern means of production in the export sector is gradually spreading to farms producing food for local consumption. In places where only export crops are grown, the shortage of food is compensated for by the creation of a local market for its producers from neighbouring areas, this being determined by the existence of a solvent demand by those engaged in the export sector.

But the low procurement prices determined by the low prices of the world market undermine this demand and force many peasants to switch to the production of food for self-consumption. In this context, it is quite

<sup>5</sup> See *Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Report on Development Prospects and Programmes*. IBRD, Washington, D. C., 1983.

<sup>6</sup> "African Business", London, June 1983, p. 14.

understandable why the governments of some African countries believe that the "excessive" production of export crops worsens the food crisis.

Hence the conclusion that the export sector can stimulate production of food for domestic consumption only when there are more or less favourable levels of world market prices. It should be noted that until mid-1970s, this problem was not so acute for African countries, because the agricultural export earnings of most states were much greater than spending on food imports, and this allowed the financing of many other branches. This largely determined the stand of the leaders of those African states who had exaggerated the possibilities of agricultural export as a reliable source of revenues for economic development.

Later on, however, the ratio between the cost of the agricultural export and agricultural import of African countries drastically deteriorated from 152.3 per cent in 1977 to 122.5 per cent in 1979 and 72.9 per cent in 1981. The main role here was played by the enormous growth of the physical volume of food imports, whereas early in the 1980s, the physical volume of agricultural exports from African countries stood at a mere 82 per cent of the 1969-1971 level. In addition to this, throughout almost the entire period under review, with the exception of 1977-1979, the terms of trade in agricultural products for countries of the continent steadily worsened.<sup>7</sup>

So many African states had to increase the sale of agricultural produce on the foreign market with the aim of providing their citizens with at least a minimum of foodstuffs, but in the meantime, the position of their agricultural export sectors had worsened substantially. Among the immediate causes of this situation, mention should be made of the declining demand for many types of agricultural produce from African countries in connection with the world crisis of the capitalist economy: in 1981 the index of export prices for this produce plummeted 62 points as compared to 1980.<sup>8</sup>

The African states are looking for a way out in agricultural diversification. But here they encounter big difficulties because of the acute shortage of financial resources. The difference between procurement and export prices is the main source of earnings for most countries of the continent. But the level of the latter is so low

that in some instances, it even fails to repay production costs. According to a study conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture of the Ivory Coast, the production cost of a kilo of coffee in 1982 was 883 African francs as compared to the average world price of 840 francs in 1979-1982. The corresponding figures for cocoa were 720 and 670; for cotton, 834 and 478; and for palm oil, 205 and 167 African francs.<sup>9</sup>

As a result, many countries of the continent are badly in need of outside finances to stimulate the production of export crops. Thus, the determining influence on the development and diversification of their agriculture is exerted directly or indirectly by monopoly capital and the imperialist states which redistribute means in favour of developing the production of one crop or another in accordance with their own interests. But even foreign capital input does not guarantee a high level of profit from the sale of African agricultural produce abroad, as is evidenced, in particular, by the situation in the peanut oil, sugar, sisal, and other markets.

The difficulties of the export sector of Africa's agriculture are due not only to low demand on the world market, but in a number of instances, also to the insufficient production of some foodstuffs as a result of unfavourable weather conditions or the absence of proper incentives for the cultivation of these crops. Consequently, despite the grave financial situation in the late 1970s and early 1980s many African countries began to boost procurement prices of export crops, although what is actually being done is not an increase in prices but just a narrowing of the gap between the rates of inflation and the level of these prices. The purpose was to create incentives, if only temporary ones, for the development of export production which could facilitate a parallel expansion of the production of foodstuffs for domestic consumption as well. But these measures have proved insufficient so far to compensate for the considerable depreciation of national currencies and the growth of production costs.

Limited resources prevent the African countries from making effective use of other methods of developing agriculture, first of all by introducing more advanced technology. Even during boom periods, world prices for the agricultural export products of these countries ensure only a minimum

<sup>7</sup> FAO Trade Yearbook, 1981, Vol. 35, Rome, 1982.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>9</sup> "Cahiers du CENECA. Coûts de production des exploitations et développement de l'agriculture", Colloque international, Paris, 1983.

profit after the deduction of production costs in most cases. For this reason, the African countries cannot accumulate enough money for the subsequent diversification of production in the event of a protracted deterioration on the markets for traditional export items. During such periods, they usually make a tremendous effort to compensate for the declining profits by increasing the physical volume of sales on the foreign market.

At present, the unfavourable situation in the world market has coincided with a particularly strong drought in many countries of Tropical Africa. The food and other humanitarian aid that is being provided by the world community, including the socialist states, is badly needed by the famine-stricken population. But it should be clearly realised that, figuratively speaking, this aid alleviates only some of the pain while in no way curing the illness.

The working out of a comprehensive social and economic strategy is needed for the ultimate solution of the problem. It is already clear to most African governments that this strategy cannot amount to compliance with the IBRD's recipes. Its elements should become the object of profound scientific research, although doubtlessly, steps in the proper direction are impossible without due account for the interests of all sections of the working people, first of all the poorest ones. Neocolonialist concepts rule out such an approach. As for simple solutions, there are none here whatsoever. Lying ahead of the young African states is a difficult struggle against the forces of external and internal reaction which are obstructing the implementation of fundamental social transformations in these countries and the establishment of a new international economic order which would make it possible to eliminate hunger on the continent. ■

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## INTERNATIONAL

## SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL'S SUPPORT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA VIEWED

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[Article by Vladimir Shubin, candidate of Historical Sciences: "Socialist International and Southern Africa: New Departure?"]

[Text]

The African continent's total liberation from colonialism and racism is a key issue of present-day international life. The courageous struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia for their freedom has the sympathy of all the progressive forces of the world and is firmly and consistently supported by the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community and the international communist movement.

The West European political parties who are members of the Socialist International also show a growing interest in the problems of Southern Africa. Starting in the mid-1970s when the presidency of this organisation went over to Willy Brandt, its leadership has made considerable efforts to go beyond the confines of Western Europe, traditional for Social Democracy, to spread extensively the ideas of social reformism to other continents, thereby neutralising the mounting influence of scientific socialism.

The Socialist International's attempts to establish firm contacts with African political parties, and the more so with national liberation movements, demanded a more clearcut definition of its stand with respect to the struggle in South Africa and Namibia. The more far-sighted leaders of the Socialist International were critical of the fact that during the years of armed struggle by the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for independence, most of its member parties had not given any appreciable assistance to them, while the Social Democratic governments of several West European countries even developed ties with the reactionary regime in Portugal, going as far in this as supplying arms to it for use by colonial troops in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

This, naturally, affected the prestige of Social Democrats in Africa. So when the Portuguese colonial empire collapsed, the need to introduce changes in the policy of international social democracy in Southern Africa became obvious. For this purpose, a mission of the Socialist International, headed by its Vice President the leader of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden Olof Palme, was sent to the African "front-line" states in September 1977. His report served as the basis of the Socialist International's special "Programme of Action" for southern Africa. This programme, however, did not take full account of the demands of the national liberation movements, even though it did contain some provisions that were in line with their interests. But the main thing was that its adoption changed little in practical terms. It was this circumstance that prompted B. Karlson, long-time Secretary-General of the Socialist International, to speak at one of its congresses about "rivers of words drying up in the desert of inaction".

Here is only one example. Sweden is the only West European country in which a law banning capital investments in South Africa was adopted on the proposal of the Social Democrats (in 1979). But it contained so many exceptions and loopholes that the capital investments there have even increased. The situation remains to this day, although the social democrats are again the ruling party in Sweden. True, the Riksdag (parliament) committee on Southern Africa recommended at long last in 1984 a full ban on these investments, but at the same time, put off the implementation of this measure to 1990.

The ties maintained with Pretoria by some social democratic leaders, especially those who are in power, also directly contradict the Socialist International's declarations. In May-June 1984 the South African Premier (now President) P. Botha made a tour of Western Europe designed primarily to breach South Africa's international isolation. Of the eight countries he visited, members of the Socialist International are the ruling parties in four—Portugal, Austria, Italy and France. Only the leaders of the Portuguese Socialists accorded Botha a formal reception. The social democrats presently in the opposition objected to his tour. Thus, the leaders of the British Labour Party were in the ranks of a big protest demonstration in London's Trafalgar Square near the South African embassy.

The gap between their organisation's words and deeds in Southern Africa are a cause for serious concern among many social democrats. In October 1981, the Bureau of the Socialist International reached a decision to hold a special conference on that region's problems. Moreover, it proclaimed as its main task to adopt concrete pledges to support the national liberation fighters. Three years were spent preparing the conference. During this time, the situation in Southern Africa had become still more complicated. With US patronage, Pretoria had stepped up its aggressive actions against neighbouring African states and increased economic pressure on them to destabilise the situation in those countries, subordinate them to its influence and force them to withdraw support from the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

On the eve of this conference, new evidence of the racist regime's crisis appeared. The mass protests against the introduction in South Africa of a new constitution designed to perpetuate apartheid and the successful boycott of the elections to the "coloured" and "Indian" chambers of parliament influenced the positions taken by delegates who assembled in Arusha on September 4-5, 1984. Along with representatives of 13 member parties of the Socialist International, the conference was attended by delegations of the ruling parties of the African front-line states, the ANC and SWAPO. There is no doubt that the very fact of holding the conference in Tanzania, a country that comes out firmly in support of the fighters for the freedom of Southern Africa, exerted a positive influence on its course and results.

In his speech at the opening of the conference, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Party (Chama cha Mapinduzi), President of Tanzania Julius Nyerere condemned South Africa's attempts to block Namibia's attainment of independence in accordance with UN decisions and the continued repressions carried out by the racist authorities against the oppressed majority in South Africa, noting that in this they have the "full support of the US government". He called for the isolation of the South African regime from the world community and for greater support from the social democrats in the struggle against apartheid and colonialism.

Washington's cooperation with South Africa was sharply criticised by the President of the Zimbabwe African National Union—ZANU—Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe. He noted that this cooperation had resulted in a tougher South African stand with respect to neighbouring countries and spoke openly of Washington's deception and

the blackmailing of Africans. Having called on the Socialist International and the parties belonging to it to give diplomatic, political and material assistance to the process of Southern Africa's liberation, Robert Mugabe stressed that the time had come to stop talking and putting hands on the plough.

Condemnation of the present US administration's policy in Southern Africa also sounded in a number of speeches by delegates from Western Europe. The leader of the Dutch Labour Party J. den Uyl, who presided over the conference, criticised the Reagan administration's attempts to present agreements concluded by Pretoria with some African states as the "beginning of a new era of the respectability" for the South African regime. He opposed the United States and South Africa's ill-famed "linkage" of the granting of independence to Namibia to the question of the stay of Cuban troops on the territory of Angola. Olof Palme took a similar stand.

Promises to step up support for the liberation movements and front-line states and to put an end to the military and economic cooperation of Western states with South Africa were contained in the speeches by representatives of Social Democratic parties and in the Socialist International's communique published while the conference was in session. But in effect, the pledges made by the Social Democrats in Arusha did not go beyond those provided for by the "Programme of Action" which, it should be recalled, came into being eight years ago but still has not been fulfilled.

The joint communique adopted by all the participants in the conference evaluates the situation in Southern Africa and the measures that could promote the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. It rejects the US policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa and notes that there should be no place for South Africa in the international community as long as the system of apartheid exists. The participants in the conference condemned the "constitutional reform" in South Africa and stressed that Pretoria's policy is a threat to world peace. The appeal to the UN Security Council to introduce comprehensive mandatory sanctions as a way of putting pressure on South Africa is also of great importance.

Although the concluding document of the conference was adopted unanimously, this does not mean a full coincidence of views among the delegations that assembled in Arusha. Thus the attempt by the leader of the Portuguese Socialists Mario Soares to justify his government's ties with Pretoria rang out in stark dissonance with the general tone of the conference. The participants in the conference agreed to continue cooperation for the sake of the attainment of freedom and independence in Southern Africa but the Socialist International leadership's proposal to set up a special joint committee for these purposes was not supported by the African delegations.

The Bureau of the Socialist International approved the results of the Arusha conference at its meeting in Rio de Janeiro on October 2-4, 1984.

The statements by the Social Democrats about their readiness to contribute to the struggle against the racist regime in Pretoria could actually lay the ground work for expanding concerted efforts in support of the front-line states, ANC and SWAPO. But Africans expect the Socialist International to fulfil its own pledges first of all. Thus, noting that at their meetings social democrats usually make promises about isolating South Africa, the Tanzanian Daily News stressed that such verbal manifestations of solidarity should be accompanied by concrete actions on the part of the relevant parties and governments directed at the fulfilment of the United Nations resolutions on Southern Africa.

The documents adopted at the Arusha conference said it was a "new departure" in relations between the Socialist International and the forces of national liberation in the region of Southern Africa. Time will tell what will follow this "new departure" and whether the social democrats will translate their statements into concrete actions.

INTERNATIONAL

ASIAN, AFRICAN YOUTH COMMITTEE MEMBERS PREPARING FOR FESTIVAL

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 85 pp 21-22

[Interview by Vladimir Novikov: "Hail to the Youth Festival"]

[Text]

The youth of the world are engaged in active preparations for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, which will open on 27 July 1985 in Moscow.

Our correspondent VLADIMIR NOVIKOV, met with representatives of several National Preparatory Committees (NPC) of Asia and Africa, and asked them to tell about their countries' preparations for the Festival.

*ROT KUMNITH—member of the National Preparatory Committee, activist for the Revolutionary Youth Association of Kampuchea:*

"Our young people will take part in the World Festival of Youth and Students for the first time. That is why we are paying special attention to our preparations for this event. Last October, we formed a National Preparatory Committee headed by Chea Sim, our National Assembly Chairman here in Kampuchea. On the eve of their first Festival, our young people are taking part in the realisation of the first priority tasks facing the Republic at present. In answer to the NPC's appeal, the youth have launched a countrywide competition under the motto 'The Three Good Deeds'. The first one implies active participation in providing for the country's national security, which is still a first priority task for the Kampuchean people. Remnants of Pol Pot bands still cling to Thai territory close to our border, and the Khmer counterrevolutionaries supported by Peking and Washington are robbing and killing our peasants, devastating and setting fire to houses and granaries, and mining the roads. The youth of the country and their elders are actively engaged in the struggle against these bandits.

"The second 'good deed' consists in sparing no effort for the benefit of the country and the rehabilitation of the national economy. Our youth are keeping pace with the grown-ups working in agriculture and industry. And even the children are doing their best not to let their elders down. Boys and girls are taking part in harvesting, keeping their towns and villages clean, and trying to do well at school as they want to become qualified specialists. And that is the third good deed. At the time the Pol Pot-Ieng Sari clique was ruling the country, the larger part of the national intelligentsia was destroyed, and all educational establishments were closed down. Our youth must fill the shoes of the fallen as soon as possible.

"The results of this competition can be seen even now, while the final results will be summed up on the eve of the Festival, and the winners will become worthy representatives of the Kampuchean youth there. This was a decision made by our NPC.

Taking part in the Festival for the first time is a rather serious commitment, and we want our young people to be in the vanguard of the festival movement."

**SULTAN ABDEL AZIZ** *Secretary of the National Preparatory Committee, member of the Democratic Youth Association's Central Committee, the Yemen Arab Republic:*

"Our preparations for the Festival began right after the decision on its convocation was taken. We increased our efforts when, in 1984, we organised the National Preparatory Committee comprised of 28 representatives of young workers, peasants, figures in the arts, and students. The motto of the Festival 'For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, for Peace and Friendship' appeals to all who are in favour of peace.

"In this complex international situation when Western militarist circles are recklessly increasing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, the rallying together of various political, ideological and religious organisations which resolutely oppose the arms race, the production of new types of weapons of mass destruction, the wasting of material and manpower resources involved in military preparations is gaining special importance.

"In the course of our preparations for the Festival, the Committee has organised anti-war meetings and rallies all over the country where youth voice strong anti-war protests. Youth organisations of the Yemen Arab Republic have appealed to the youth of all continents to step up their struggle for peace. We receive similar appeals from other youth organisations in different countries, which firms up our belief that the youth of the world want to build a happy and peaceful future for both themselves and coming generations."

**DIUT KWASHI**—*member of the Secretariat of the National Preparatory Committee, activist for the Ghana Democratic Youth League:*

"We are using every opportunity to meet with young people from other countries. Such meetings have become more frequent occasions now that we are preparing for the Festival.

"Our youth are actively fighting economic difficulties. Ghana's economy has suffered considerable damage from draughts and fire in the past several years. The measures taken have proved to be quite effective, and the present situation is much better than it was, say, a year ago. Fighting difficulties rallies our youth closer together... I hope that the Moscow Festival will see its ranks closed even tighter, as the Festival's main purpose is to help young people join hands to settle the problems of our day."

**YEMRU CHERU**—*member of the National Preparatory Committee, activist for the Revolutionary Youth Association of Ethiopia:*

Preparations for the Festival are being conducted by our NPC in cooperation with Ethiopian state and public organisations. We think that the Festival movement is a powerful weapon in the struggle of the world's progressive youth for peace and social justice, and we support its anti-war and anti-imperialist purport.

"The NPC activity in our country has taken two directions. First, we are trying to bring home the ideas of the festival to the far-off corners of our country and to explain its purpose and tasks. Special importance is attached to this work as it is aimed at the broadest sections of our youth to draw them into the festival movement. And second, we are establishing contacts with international and regional youth organisations and other countries' preparatory committees. These contacts are largely promoted by the sessions of the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) where major issues of the Festival's Programme are discussed. This opens up broad possibilities for mutual exchange of experience between the delegations.

"Our country's delegation has taken part in all the IPC sessions, which is a sign that our young people are striving to live in peace. Such meetings demonstrate that the youth of the world are ready today to draw closer together and act ever more resolutely for the sake of preserving life and peace on Earth."

INTERNATIONAL

HO CHI MINH'S LIFE, DEEDS DESCRIBED ON 95TH BIRTHDAY

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 85 pp 23-25

[Profile by Yevgeniy Kobelev: "Ho Chi Minh"]

[Text]

May 19, 1985 marked the 95th birthday anniversary of Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969), leader of the Vietnamese people and outstanding figure of the international revolutionary and national liberation movement.

Prominent revolutionaries are always and above all true sons and heroes of their own country, but by virtue of the international significance of any revolution that is aimed at achieving national and social liberation, they also belong to the world revolutionary movement as a whole. This holds true for Ho Chi Minh as well.

Ho Chi Minh became a world-renowned revolutionary leader and legendary figure in his lifetime.

He caused general admiration and a good deal of comment and had many remarkable individual features. Fidel Castro called him the "most modest and consistent Marxist-Leninist of our time". Rodney Arismendi, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Uruguay Communist Party, referred to him as "a symbol of Communist wisdom in Asia", while Indira Gandhi characterised him as "a great and unbending albeit a gentle leader". When asked by a correspondent "What three virtues of a political leader would you like to possess and whose example would you follow?", Salvador Allende replied: "The integrity, humaneness and great modesty of Ho Chi Minh." In the Soviet Union, he was lovingly nicknamed "a knight of the revolution" referring to his admirable fearlessness and courage as a revolutionary and fighter, and his true nobleness as a Man, with a capital letter.

His enemies hated him, but had to acknowledge his power and enormous prestige. Jean Sainteny, French Commissioner in North Vietnam in 1945-1946, laments in his memoirs: "It is a pity that France underestimated this man and was unable to comprehend how important he and the forces he represented were." Explaining why the USA torpedoed the general elections in Vietnam in 1956 and launched a war against that country, Dwight Eisenhower admitted that the US Administration was convinced that most Vietnamese would vote for Ho Chi Minh. And when US planes bombed and napalmed a well-camouflaged road in the jungles which served as a transport route for volunteers, arms, and munitions from the North to the South, the target was designated by the US military staff in Vietnam as "the Ho Chi Minh trail", though Ho Chi Minh himself had never been in those places.

The two words--Ho Chi Minh and Vietnam--have for many years been inseparable in people's consciousness. They were the refrain of a song popular the world over in the sixties when the Vietnamese people were courageously resisting the aggression of the greatest imperialist power.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese for their national and social liberation will always stand out in historical record. The components of the great patriotic and revolutionary gains of the Vietnamese people led by the Communist Party and its leader comrade Ho Chi Minh can be summed up as follows: the victory of a national, popular democratic revolution in an underdeveloped, semi-feudal country and the formation of the first worker and peasant state in South-east Asia (1945); the nine-year war of resistance against French colonialists (1945-1954) and the second war of resistance against US imperialist aggression (1960-1973), characterised by mass heroism, as well as the long-lasting political, armed, and diplomatic struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam and unification of the country, which ended in a full victory in 1975.

Ho Chi Minh was destined to play the role of trailblazer in the long revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Indochina for their national liberation. In the early 20th century, Vietnam, though languishing under the yoke of colonialism boasted of many national heroes and ardent patriots eager to see their country free, but they did not know how to accomplish this; they saw no realistic ways of achieving freedom. Some (Hoang Hoa Tham) relied exclusively on guerrilla warfare; others (Phan Chu Trinh) pinned the hopes on the mercy of the colonialists, who, it was assumed, could be argued into voluntarily easing the lot of the Vietnamese people; still others (Phan Boi Chau) counted on the assistance of their "brothers in race", specifically the Japanese, in overthrowing the white colonialists' rule.

Ho Chi Minh was the first to turn to the ideas of Lenin and the Great October Revolution in Russia to find the only correct solution to the problem of liberating his country. In 1920, while in France, he read Lenin's theses on colonialism and nationalities prepared for the 2nd Comintern Congress. He was, he recalled later, tremendously impressed by it. "My poor, tortured countrymen!" he wrote. "This is what we really need! This is our way to liberation! And ever since I have always been on the side of Lenin and the International." Lenin's doctrine allowed him to arrive at the following important conclusion later: "It is only socialism and communism that can liberate from slavery the oppressed nations and the working people of the whole world."

Already in his first articles about Lenin (1924-1925), Ho Chi Minh gave an extensive interpretation of the international significance of Lenin's theory and its universality as applied to the revolutionary struggle for both national and social emancipation. Lenin's teachings were of intransigent value to colonial peoples, he emphasised, because they had ushered in "a new, truly revolutionary epoch in colonial countries". Lenin, Ho Chi Minh pointed out, "...was the first to realise and stress the paramount importance for the world revolution attached to correct solution of the colonial problem... to involving colonial nations in the revolutionary movement" without which "a social revolution would be unthinkable".

Ho Chi Minh remained true to Lenin's behests and the all-triumphant ideas of Marxism-Leninism for the rest of his life. He always checked his actions and the policy of the party he led against the invaluable Lenin's experience. As veteran leader of the Communist Party and head of a socialist state, Ho Chi Minh was invariably a consistent successor of the principles of Marxism-Leninism; he made a weighty contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory and its correct implementation in the difficult conditions of Indochina and Vietnam. "Leninism," pointed out Ho Chi Minh, "like the sun lights our way to the final victory, to socialism and communism." Faithfulness to the ever living teachings of Lenin continues to be the lodestar for the communists and working people of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea today.

After studying the Lenin theory, Ho Chi Minh was the first to realise the historical necessity of organising a communist party in Indochina, for it was only a party of the working class that was capable of leading the liberation struggle of the peoples to a victorious conclusion. He formulated this idea in his pamphlet *The Path of the Revolution* in 1926 and urged

his countrymen to more vigorously study the Marxist-Leninist theory. As an epigraph to his book he chose the following famous words of Lenin: "...the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory."<sup>1</sup>

Ho Chi Minh had to do a good deal of organisational and political work to prepare the ground for founding the party. While in emigration, he started a political studies course for Vietnamese revolutionaries; then he founded an interim organisation, an "Association of Revolutionary Vietnamese Youth", and began publishing a political newspaper *Than nien*. This activity enabled him to put together and train a sizeable group of professional revolutionaries who devoted their lives to the struggle for the national and social emancipation of their people. This group constituted the backbone of the Communist Party of Indochina (CPI) founded by Ho Chi Minh on February 3, 1930.

Ho Chi Minh played a signal role in helping the Party get on its feet and in turning it into a mass, mature Marxist-Leninist organisation. It was mostly thanks to Ho Chi Minh that the Vietnamese revolution was from the very outset closely linked with the Comintern, the world Communist movement and its major parties, specifically, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In his struggle for the national liberation of his people, Ho Chi Minh was the first to realise and to continually emphasise the utmost significance of an alliance between workers and peasants in the particular conditions of Vietnam. Following Lenin's theory he arrived at the conclusion that in countries such as Vietnam, "revolution is essentially and above all a peasants' revolution" and that "an alliance between the overwhelming majority of the peasants and the working class is the basis for a broad and firm national front". In the process of preparing the revolution, he continuously drew the attention of his comrades-in-arms and all Party members to the urgent need for making a correct appraisal of the organic relationship between the nationalities problem, on the one hand, and the struggle for democracy, on the other, and between the tasks of the anti-imperialist and the anti-feudal struggle.

Ho Chi Minh initiated and actively promoted the strategy of a broad united national front at each specific stage of the revolution as formulated in the documents of the 7th Comintern Congress in 1935. This strategy proved to be a powerful weapon to Vietnamese communists first in their struggle against Japanese occupationists and French colonialists (the Vietminh Front), and then in South Vietnam's struggle against the US aggressors (the National Front of Liberation of South Vietnam) and in the current building of socialism in Vietnam (the Fatherland Front of Vietnam).

It is appropriate to mention here the ingenious and invariably creative approach displayed by Ho Chi Minh at different turns of the Vietnamese revolution. When, back in 1941, the 8th Plenum of the Party's Central Committee was discussing a name for the united national front in the making, a great variety of names was suggested, but Ho Chi Minh insisted on a name acceptable to all who fought for national liberation, including the propertied classes, namely, the "Vietnam Independence League". He also suggested that it be abbreviated to "Vietminh", a more colloquial and resounding word packed with power and appeal for the masses. For many a year, this scathing word, like an alarm bell called on people to keep fighting for the liberation of their country.

In general, Ho Chi Minh was known for his ability to combine organically national and class interests, to unite general patriotic ideals with those of socialism and communism, which was largely accounted for by the nature of the Vietnamese revolution—a national, popular democratic revolution transforming into a socialist one. For the Vietnamese, Ho Chi Minh was a true symbol of national solidarity. Always one with the working class and acting from class positions, at the same time, he

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.



knew how to win over representatives of the national bourgeoisie and landlords which enabled him to mobilise a sufficiently large national alliance against foreign enemies during the difficult phases of the revolution. Many Vietnamese bourgeois and feudal intellectuals admitted that they had joined the revolution under the impact of Ho Chi Minh's personality. In him they saw, above all, a hope for the future liberation and revival of Vietnam.

The defeat of the German nazis and the Japanese militarists in World War II by the Soviet Union and its allies changed external conditions in favour of the Vietnamese revolution. Demonstrating their deep understanding of revolutionary strategy and tactics, Ho Chi Minh and the CPI in August 1945 adopted a historic decision on a general armed uprising and, upon its victorious termination, on proclaiming Vietnam a democratic republic.

It was a highly-responsible and courageous decision in the situation then obtaining in Vietnam. The country was occupied by the Japanese and the stooges of Vichy regime, with Chiang Kaishek's forces threatening from the north and the US-British troops from the south and east, and with no friend to rely upon, the Soviet Union being thousands of miles away. Nonetheless, with hardly 5,000 men at their disposal, Ho Chi Minh and the CPI made a daring challenge to their numerous enemies and won. "The victory of the August Revolution in 1945," noted Ho Chi Minh, "was a victory of the Leninist teaching in the first national liberation revolution in a colonial country."

Over the next 24 years, Ho Chi Minh was the permanent leader of free Vietnam and the Party of Vietnamese communists. Those were years of severe trials. From the very outset, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had to take up arms to defend its sovereignty and independence, first against the French colonialists who sought to regain control of the country, and then, after a brief six-year respite, against the US aggressors bent on tearing the southern part of the country away from the Republic and turning it into a colony of a new type. As President of the Republic and Chairman of the Party, Ho Chi Minh led the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people; he was the heart and soul of the nationwide struggle for freedom.

All these hard years, Ho Chi Minh continued to embody, as before, an unshakeable faith in the triumph of the just cause of the Vietnamese people. He strove tirelessly to fill his comrades-in-arms, Party functionaries and the army, as well as all working people of Vietnam with his inexhaustible optimism. He taught them never to be afraid of the enemy, to believe in their strength and their friends' support. Fear of any foreign enemies, no matter how formidable and dangerous, has been unknown to Vietnamese people ever since. He taught them to be prepared for self-sacrifice, to be patient and persistent in pursuing their goal. Fighting for national independence, freedom and socialism, Ho Chi Minh insisted, the people must be filled with "revolutionary determination", they must "always carry high the banner of revolutionary heroism, fear no difficulties or sacrifices, and act with persistence to the very end."

Mobilising the entire nation to resist the US imperialist aggression, Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese communists succeeded in developing and successfully applying a strategy of revolutionary warfare adapted to Vietnamese conditions. As an important contribution to world revolutionary experience it made up a flexible combination of armed, political and diplomatic struggle with each form complementing the other, depending on the specific conditions which made it possible to put unceasing mounting pressure on the enemy, keeping him on the defensive.

As the Vietnamese were beating off the fierce aggression, they relied overwhelmingly on themselves alone, on their own material resources and revolutionary energy, as well as on the great power of solidarity the world over. Ho Chi Minh and the Party of Vietnamese communists used the only correct strategy, namely a flexible combination of comprehensive national efforts with the broadest international support. Leaning on the selfless assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist

countries and on the world movement of solidarity, the Vietnamese communists led by Ho Chi Minh managed to turn their country into an impregnable fortress. The aggressor, armed to the teeth, got bogged down in many years of abortive attempts to crush it.

Ho Chi Minh, who devoted his whole life to the liberation of Vietnam, did not live to see his country fully liberated; he died on September 3, 1969. He now rests in a granite Mausoleum in Hanoi's central square of Ba Dinh.

To the end, however, Ho Chi Minh believed that V-Day would come. In his political testament, he wrote: "No matter what hardships and deprivations are, our people will inevitably achieve victory. The US imperialists will be forced to get out of our country. Our Motherland will be reunited." His prophecy came true just six years after his passing.

No wonder the thoughts and feelings of the delegates to the 4th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (the "Victory Congress", December 1976) turned, first and foremost, to the memory of the never-to-be-forgotten "Uncle Ho" as the Vietnamese affectionately called him.

Ho Chi Minh's story would not be complete without a few comments on some other important features of his character and talent. He was a gifted and versatile personality—a journalist, a publicist, a writer and a poet. He was the author of many books, essays, and articles about Leninism and the lessons of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia, the theory and practice of the Vietnamese revolution, the building of socialism in Vietnam, the tactics of struggle against foreign aggression and defending the freedom and independence of his country. Ho Chi Minh is regarded in Vietnam as the founding father of Vietnamese revolutionary literature. A series of his poems entitled *A Prison Diary* has been translated into many foreign languages. A collection of his works was published in the Soviet Union in 1979 and ran into a second edition later.

He was a person of encyclopedic knowledge. He had a good command of several foreign languages. He read Anatole France in French, Shakespeare in English, and Lu Xun in Chinese. In the Soviet Union, he made his public speeches in Russian.

Among Vietnamese communists, he was unexcelled in the art of revolutionary conspiracy, the intricate and indispensable craft of a professional revolutionary. While in hiding from the secret police of the colonialists, he used several dozen aliases. When he was born he was given a name Nguyen Sinh Cung; from 1919 to 1942 he was known in Indochina and among foreign communists as Nguyen Ai Quoc, which means "patriot". It was not until 1942 that he assumed the name of Ho Chi Minh, the alias known the world over.

Ho Chi Minh justly belongs to the remarkable galaxy of Leninist revolutionaries who not only assimilated and applied in practice the great theory of Lenin, but also demonstrated the tremendous force of communist ideas by their personal qualities and example. All who were lucky enough to meet him were impressed by the absolutely natural, organic combination in him of iron will and indomitable courage with that rare simplicity and humaneness also characteristic of Lenin himself. He was a passionate champion of revolutionary morals and never tired of educating Party members and all working people of Vietnam in the spirit of high moral qualities.

During the long years of struggle Ho Chi Minh grew accustomed to an austere, Spartan mode of life; luxury was the last thing he cared for. He relished reminiscences of his hard, but romantic life in the Vietbak mountain caves on the eve of the revolution and during the years of the War of Resistance. He was fond of this simple life among the common people, sharing his food and shelter with peasants and soldiers, and he tried to retain this lifestyle to the end of his days.

He generously shared the warmth of his heart and soul with those who surrounded him. The sufferings and miseries

of other people affected him more strongly than his own. Those who met President Ho Chi Minh pointed out that he reacted with keen concern and understanding to every aspect of his people's life, their sufferings, and sacrifices. He was visibly excited when he spoke about the heroism of Vietnamese fighters and grieved to repeat time and again: "We are losing the best people."

In the Vietnamese revolutionary movement, Ho Chi Minh has always been an embodiment of internationalism, a factor so important to every revolution. He continuously sought the unity of working people of different countries wherever he happened to carry out revolutionary work. He always sought an alliance of the Vietnamese people with progressive forces throughout the world. His activities exemplified an organic unity of the struggle for the interests of the working people of his own country, on the one hand, and those of proletarians and oppressed people all over the world, on the other.

Ho Chi Minh has been especially dear to the Soviet people because this great Vietnamese patriot was a close friend of our country. He had a strong affection for Lenin and everything associated with the 1917 October Revolution in Russia. He was the first Vietnamese communist to come to Soviet Russia in June 1923. He dreamt of meeting Lenin, but the dream never came true. "I haven't had an occasion to meet Lenin, which has been the greatest grief of my life", he recalled. In January 1924, when the Soviet Union was mourning the passing of its leader and the leader of the world revolution, the newspaper Pravda featured, among other numerous foreign comments on Lenin's death, an article by a Vietnamese communist signed Nguyen Ai Quoc.

Before embarking on his revolutionary career at home, Ho Chi Minh visited the Soviet Union three times: in 1923-1924, 1927-1928, and 1934-1938. He was a staffer of the Oriental department of the Comintern Executive Committee, attended courses at the Communist University for Working People of the East and the International Lenin School, and took part in the work of the 5th and 7th Comintern Congresses. All in all, he spent over six years in our country, which became his second homeland. Ever after, he was a loyal friend of the Soviet Union. He came on many a visiting tour of the Soviet Union as President of the DRV and Chairman of the Workers' Party of Vietnam CC. In his discussions, lectures, newspaper articles, and speeches, Ho Chi Minh popularised the achievements of the USSR and urged for unity with the Soviet people; he emphasised his "faith in the invincibility of the Soviet Union, a buttress of the revolutionary movement and struggle for world peace."

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INTERNATIONAL

HISTORICAL DATA 'PROVES' RUSSIANS FIRST TO DISCOVER KURILS

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 85 pp 34-39

[Article by Raisa Osminina: "The Kuril Islands on the Map and in History"]

[Text]

The Kuril Islands in the Pacific Ocean which stretch from the Kamchatka Peninsula in the North, almost to Japan in the South, are frequently called a necklace of volcanoes. This mountainous formation would be the highest in the world if the ocean were to retreat, leaving bare the bases of the mountains whose peaks form the Kuril Islands. Millions upon millions of years ago, powerful underground forces lifted their peaks above the surface of the ocean. Therefore, everything existing today on the Kuril Islands—ports, canneries, schools, pastures, research stations and hospitals—are actually on the ridge of that gigantic underwater mountain range.

The Kuril Archipelago consists of two ranges of islands: the larger one having a length of 1,200 km and a smaller one 105 km-long. All in all, there are more than 30 islands with a total area of about 15.5 thousand square kilometres, having 155 volcanoes plus another 47 underwater volcanoes discovered comparatively recently by Soviet researchers. Thousands of Soviet people take part in the research and economic activities involving the Kurils. These islands have long played an inalienable part in the great Russian history. This we'll discuss below.

"LAND OF RUSSIAN OWNERSHIP"

These words were engraved on metal plates cast in 1786 to be fixed on the Kuril Islands. Somewhat earlier—in 1779—the coats-of-arms of the Russian Empire were manufactured "to be placed in the harbours of the Kuril range". All large settlements, bays and important places were to be marked by such emblems. The popula-

tion of the islands—Russians and Aynas—were sent special documents from St. Petersburg certifying their Russian citizenship.

These juridical sanctions carried out by the government of Empress Catherine II (1729-1796) were aimed, on the one hand, at ensuring the further study and development of the Kuril Islands and, on the other, were a statement of the historical priority of the Russians in discovering the Archipelago. But even by that time, this heroic effort had a history of its own.

However, before we turn to that history, let us speak of the narrow strip of water marking the border between two sovereign states—the USSR and Japan. A strait only 2.5 kilometres wide divides the Soviet Island of Tanfiliev and the Cape of Nosappu of the Japanese Island of Hokkaido.

From time immemorial, Hokkaido was inhabited by the Aynas, a people of non-Japanese origin,<sup>1</sup> and on the site of the present-day Japanese town of Nemuro was an ancient fortress called "Nimoururu" which meant in the language of the Aynas "to live in tranquility behind the fence from all four sides". But the flourishing Ayna settlements did not remain tranquil, because for almost two centuries the Aynas had to defend their land from the Japanese, their southern neighbours; however, they failed to retain

<sup>1</sup> The question concerning the origin of the Aynas still remains unanswered. There exist different hypotheses that they came from Europe, Australia or Mongolia. Recent studies by anthropologists warrant conclusions that the Aynas are close to Americanoids, pro-Aleutes and pro-Koryaks.

their independence. Their resistance was broken, and by the end of the 18th century, a "centre" for collecting taxes from the local population was established on the ruins of the Ayna fortress which was given a Japanese name.

Over a period of time, the Cape of Nosappu, through the efforts of some quarters of Japan, became a popular place for tourist pilgrimages. A "House of Anguish"—a special observation point with a view of the Soviet Islands across the strait—was built. The mass media acquaints millions of Japanese with the programme for future development of the "northern territories". This rather vague term, depending on the claims of various circles in Japan, means either several islands or the entire Kuril Range and

the Island of Sakhalin.

However, the voices of honest and objective scholars as, for example, Professor Yoshimitsu Koriyama of Kagoshima University who died recently, ring out above the noisy chorus of anti-Soviet propaganda. After 30 years of studying documents relating to the history of the discovery of the Kuril Islands, he came to the conclusion that they cannot be regarded as genuinely Japanese land, and any attempts to make such claims are totally unfounded from historical viewpoint. This distortion of history has been dictated by the desire of Japanese propaganda to inculcate in people's minds the false notion that it was Japanese, not Russians, who were the first to discover the Kuril Islands.

It is only natural that one person cannot discover and describe a large region, continent or large archipelago. This can hardly be done even by several generations of explorers. That is why when the problem of priority is discussed, what is meant is the priority in reaching an unknown land and the first written data about it. Other expeditions will follow the road paved by the pioneers, they will go further and provide fresh data on the new lands. For example several generations of Russians figure in the history of discovering and exploring the Kuril Islands. They counterposed their courage, valour and persistence to the harsh elements, to discover and develop a land which did not look very hospitable, did not promise bumper crops, where stormy winds constantly brought rain and snow, and where everything built faces the threat of earthquakes, eruptions of volcanoes and tsunami, for the Kurils are the most seismic area of the Soviet Union now, too.

### The Mystery of the "Islands Beyond the Straits"

During the first decade of the 17th century, even the most well-versed geographers in the world had no idea of what the Asian continent was actually like. Russian explorers who found their way to its northeast outlying areas solved many geographic riddles. First of all, however, they had to cross the vast expanses of Siberia to reach the edge of the continent. Meanwhile, cartographers in European and other capitals drew non-existent seas and lands on their picturesque maps without knowing how far away their hypotheses were from the truth.

The same can be said of the old Japanese maps, though the unexplored region was quite near Japan. Moreover, the concepts of Japanese cartographers about the earth were sometimes even farther from reality than those of their European colleagues. For example, to the north of Hokkaido Island, they placed imaginary lands reaching to the North Pole and covering the territory of the American continent. In the opinion of the authors of those maps, that gigantic territory was populated by "barbarians", as all numerous peoples of non-Japanese origin were laconically defined.

In 1604 the clan of Samurai Matsumae was granted the Ayna lands on the southern coast of Hokkaido. But, as we have mentioned, the Aynas struggled persistently and courageously against the invaders, upholding their independence. This stubborn resistance explains the fact that for a long time the Japanese settlements did not expand; they confined themselves to a narrow strip on the coast of the island. In 1638, the government issued a decree on the closure of the country. Since then, on pain of death, all Japanese were banned from leaving their country. Even fishermen, caught by storms at sea and swept away from the coasts of Japan were considered criminals and exiles.

In the same year of 1638, a detachment of Russian Cossacks<sup>2</sup> under the command of Ivan Moskvitin went out in search of the "Lama" ("big water") as the Siberian tribes called the Sea of Okhotsk at that time. In 1639, having crossed the Dzugdzur Ridge, the detachment came to the shore of the Pacific Ocean. Thus, the Russians became first Europeans to reach the Far Eastern edge of the Asian continent and began studying that region.

While sailing in the Sea of Okhotsk, the Cossacks from the Moskvitin detachment learnt about the existence of a previously unknown people whose appearance differed considerably from the numerous Siberian tribes which the Russian pioneers had seen earlier. They were tall, with European-like faces, thick hair and big beard, worn by men. The latter was the reason for the nickname of "bearded" which the Cossacks gave them. The Aynas were so called till the end of the 17th century. According to Kolobov, a participant in that famous expedition, "those bearded men called the Russians their brothers".<sup>3</sup>

The complete sequence of events of the earliest period of these discoveries in that area has not yet been fully restored. However, certain documents uncovered by historians testify to the fact that this process was never interrupted. For instance, according to Cossack Malgin, his comrade Taras Stadukhin made a voyage in the Sea of Okhotsk in the 1660s and found islands on which "there were bearded people in long robes"<sup>4</sup>.

Here he obviously meant the Kuril Aynas. Japanese sources mention some Russian travellers by the names of "Ufuru" and "Ootsu", but who was actually referred to by those distorted names remains unclear. What is certain today is that by the end of the 17th century, the Russians knew about the existence of sea islands, and one of them had been marked on a map of Siberia in 1673. The description attached to that map read in part: "A stone column, immeasurably high". The "column" rose from the sea just off the southern extremity of Kamchatka and was called the Island of Alaid.

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<sup>2</sup> Cossacks (from the Turkic word kozak--a free man) free people--non-serfs who settled at the outlying areas of the big Russian state. They protected the frontiers and played an exceptional role in discovering and developing Siberia.

<sup>3</sup> Discoveries of Russian Explorers and Navigators in the 17th Century. Collection of Documents, Moscow 1951 (in Russian).

<sup>4</sup> Monuments of the Siberian History of the 18th Century, St. Petersburg, 1882-1885 (in Russian).

On a sunny day, from the southernmost Cape of Lopatka (on Kamchatka) it is possible to see the truncated cone of that highest rock-island. They say that only a few people were lucky enough to see the whole of this breathtaking natural wonder from bottom to top. As a rule, thick clouds shroud the top, for they catch on the top of the volcano. Fogs conceal the rock-island, too. The old name of "Alaid" remained as the name of the volcano, while the island itself is now named after Vladimir Atlasov, a Kamchatka Cossack.

Vladimir Atlasov, a distinguished explorer of Kamchatka (1661-1711) was the first to report that "Kuril foreigners" lived in the southern part of the Peninsula. He was referring to the settlements of Kamchatka Aynas who called themselves "Kur", which meant "man" or "person". Atlasov provided a detailed account of the natural conditions of the "Kuril land" and stated that he "saw what looked like islands against the first Kuril river on the sea". It is precisely from here that the name of the Kuril Islands originated.

When these data, sent by Atlasov himself, reached Moscow in 1701, they aroused the interest of Peter the Great (1671-1725). The government immediately sent decrees to Siberia: "Ships should be built and information obtained of the lands beyond the straits in the sea, and of the local people, how many of them live there, and a detailed report as well as a map should be sent without delay".

However, this was only a prelude to the genuine discovery of the Kuril Islands. As a matter of fact, it began on August 1, 1711 when for the first time, 75 Russian Cossacks in light boats crossed the strait, separating the southern Cape of Kamchatka from the first Island of Shumshu, the northernmost in the Large Kuril Range.

The strait is rather narrow but extremely dangerous. One of the participants in the Great Northern Expedition<sup>5</sup> described it thirty years later as follows: "There is a highly hazardous and strong vortex located several versts from the Cape of Lopatka. The waves reach a height of more than 60 metres even when the weather is quiet. Besides, lateral winds blow here, and small vessels are often carried out to the high seas and perish". Let us note that

<sup>5</sup> The Great Northern Expedition of 1733-1741 (The Second Kamchatka Expedition) was a grandiose scientific venture. Its objective was to study and make maps of the Arctic coast of Siberia, the Kuril Islands, and to reach Northwest America. The expedition was headed by an officer of the Russian Navy, Vitus Bering (1681-1741), a Dane by origin.

"quiet weather" is an extremely rare phenomenon there. That is why we have every ground to regard the first crossing of the strait as a great feat on the part of the explorers.

The expedition to the Kurils was headed by Ivan Kozyrevsky (1686-1734). A cape on one of the islands of the archipelago was named in his honour. This inquisitive, observant and educated Russian Cossack became the first geographer, cartographer and ethnographer of the Islands. The materials he collected during the expeditions of 1711-1713 proved extremely valuable. Japanese scholar T. Akizuki, an objective historian, once stated: "At that time, there was practically no information in Japan about the Kurils. Moreover, at a time when Japan was unable to compile a description of each of those islands, the report by I. Kozyrevsky was of truly immense importance."

Kozyrevsky let the people know about the islands and their inhabitants, the "Kurila". On the first island—Shumshu—he wrote, "there are no sables, foxes or beavers". "At a distance of four versts" there is another island (Paramushir), whose inhabitants "catch seals and make clothes of seal skin and bird feathers". In half a day, he went on, if the weather is fine, it is possible to reach the third island (Onekotan) in a light boat. It is inhabited by Kurils who catch sea beavers and make cloth of nettle. The inhabitants of Onekotan often go hunting at the neighbouring islands and come to the Kamchatka Aynas to exchange their catch for furs and the fat of sea animals. The fourth island (Kharimkotan) was marked by its "fire-breathing mountain" (volcano), and on the fifth island (Shiashkotan) big fairs were arranged, and Aynas from all the islands—from north to south—gathered there.<sup>7</sup>

After the Cossacks were convinced that local population were not citizens of any state, through an interpreter they called on the inhabitants "tenderly and cordially" to come "under the high Tzar's hand", i. e., offered them Russian citizenship. The inhabitants ans-

<sup>6</sup> T. Akizuki, "The exploration by Kozyrevsky and the map of the Kuril Islands", *Hoppa bunka ken kuy*, No. 3, 1968, p. 157; cited from the *Far Eastern Affairs*, No. 4, 1979, p. 128 (in Russian).

<sup>7</sup> *Monument of Siberian History* ..., St. Petersburg, 1882-1885, Vol. 1, pp. 462, 490 (in Russian).

wered: "We live here and do not pay tax in kind (furs) and no one has ever made us do." This information made it possible to plan the further movement of the Russians along the Kuril Range.

The maps and descriptions by Kozyrevsky were immediately dispatched to Peter the Great in Moscow. The Emperor, as is known, was seeking "a window" not only to Europe, but also to Asia. He was a politician, geographer, a patron of the sciences, and practical man who had made a tangible contribution to the development of geography. Peter the Great was elected an Academician in the Paris Academy of Sciences. So it was only natural that head of the Russian state displayed a keen interest in the information about new lands in the east of the empire.

Pondering over Kozyrevsky's reports, the Russian Emperor saw a picture which was quite different from the European maps of the time. It turned out that Japan was not connected to the continent by means of a "land bridge", and it was not even close to it but, on the contrary, was located south of a long range of islands beginning near Kamchatka.

On the basis of data obtained from the Aynas, Kozyrevsky wrote *A Story of the Japanese Kingdom*. Well aware that the Russian government was striving to establish friendly contacts with Oriental countries, he proposed that the expedition continue exploring the Archipelago, find sea routes to Japan, and enumerated goods which might be in demand among the Japanese and Aynas.

Kozyrevsky's reports resulted in numerous drafts to organise expeditions via the northern sea route, as well as through inner Siberia, along the Amur River, and from Kamchatka. The largest trading companies of St. Petersburg and Moscow, political figures and merchants asked permission from the government to establish trade relations with Japan. The discovery of the first Far Eastern sea route across the Sea of Okhotsk to Kamchatka in 1716 was a direct outcome of the information on the Kuril Islands. Groups of geographer-explorers moved along the whole of the Far East with the task of describing the lands and peoples, compiling reports and maps. Never before had so many large-scale expeditions been organised. As Peter the Great saw it, Kamchatka would become the main outpost for solving another major geographic issue, i. e., the proximity between America's northwest coast and Asia. The first visits by Russians to the "islands beyond the straits" opened up a real possibility to answer that question, because authoritative West European maps showed some huge land mass in direct proximity to Kam-

chatka and Japan, a land which had different names. According to some assumptions, it was an island between Asia and America, while according to others it was the coast of the American continent itself.

Thus, the discovery of the Kuril "necklace" became a link in the chain of global geographic problems, the solution to which began with the first expedition of a detachment of Russian Cossacks from Kamchatka and was completed by subsequent generations of explorers, though on a higher scientific and organisational level.

#### A SERIES OF DISCOVERIES

A new stage was launched by the reforms of Peter the Great which envisaged studies of Russian lands on the basis of the latest scientific achievements. Previously discovered lands, rivers and lakes in the East, Siberian *ostrogs*,<sup>\*</sup> and post stations, portages and crossings were to be plotted on maps and accompanied by accurate astronomic coordinates.

Ivan Yevreinov and Fyodor Luzhin, two geodesists, gifted graduates of the navigation school, were to continue the exploration of the Kuril Islands. The instructions they were given read in part that they were to pass along all the islands up to Japan, establish trade relations with the latter, conduct geodesic measurements of all lands they came across during their trip, tap ores of precious metals and, finally, answer the question which excited the academic community of that period: "Is America joined to Asia?"

On May 22, 1721, a decade after the first expedition of Kozyrevsky, a ship of scientific expedition members headed for the Kuril Islands.

This journey was marked by the discovery of a number of lands in the middle part of the Archipelago. The navigators determined the exact astronomic coordinates of the islands of Shumshu, Paramushir, Onekotan, Kharimkotan, Shiashkotan and Simushir. The inhabitants of those islands took Russian citizenship. However, the venture which was launched so successfully was interrupted by a sudden mighty typhoon. For several weeks the ship with broken masts and torn sails floated aimlessly over the ocean. Finally, the harsh elements displayed kindness to the Russian navigators. The sky cleared and the wind blew the tormented ship with the travellers, hardly alive, to the north, to the Island of Paramushir. Upon reaching the latter, they made a sail from rags and wooden

<sup>\*</sup> A settlement with a fence made of vertical pointed logs; many Siberian *Ostrogs* later grew into towns.



anchors, covering them with iron pans, and finally reached Kamchatka.

Several years later, Russian ships again headed for the Kurils: that was a group from the Great Northern Expedition of Vitus Bering. The voyage to the Kurils was led by Martyn Spanberg, assistant commander. The expedition faced the same tasks: to continue the exploration of the Archipelago, to find routes to Japan, and to discover any land bridges between Asia and America, if any. One of the points of their instructions stated that if the travellers reached new islands in the southern part of the Kurils and learned that their inhabitants were not subjects of Japan, then "efforts should be made by decent and tender treatment to persuade them to adopt Russian citizenship and take no requisitions or tax in kind from them".

Thus, Russian ships became the first to pass the entire Large Kuril Range to the south, as far as Hokkaido. Several unknown islands were described and plotted on the map, but this required immense efforts and grave risks, because the navigation took place under the most complicated weather conditions. When they approached Urup, a major southern island, they ran out of food and drinking water. The sailors began to die of scurvy. Nonetheless, the exploration continued.

From Urup, the ships headed for the Small Kuril Range to explore it too. For the first time in history, people with geological instruments landed on Shikotan: they were some of geologist Simon Gardel's men. Simultaneously, the Russians studied the flora and fauna, and collected plants which they had never seen before. The conclusion, that there were none of the mysterious lands plotted on West-European maps, was a major scientific achievement of the expedition.

The map of the Kurils, similar to the contemporary maps, which was included in the 1745 Academic Atlas of Russia, was the result of the discovery and study of the Kuril Islands. In their scientific works, Krasheninnikov, Steller, Gmelin, Miller and other Russian explorers of Siberia and the Far East in the 18th century included most extensive and unique data—geographic, historical and ethnographic—on the Archipelago.

Thus, almost three decades had passed since Kozyrevsky's first expedition in 1711 till the mid-1740s when Bering's expedition took place. Another forty-odd years had elapsed before the first Japanese reconnaissance group landed on a Kuril Island, the one closest to Japan, in 1786.

Now let us cast a cursory glance at the four decades which preceded the latter act.

Almost every year, Russian scientific and trade expeditions headed for the Kurils, ships were built, and hunting groups were organised.

The destinies of many expeditions and marches were tragic. Russian people paid with their very lives for the discovery of new lands, fighting the cruel Pacific Ocean and the perfidious nature of its Far Eastern waters. While developing those lands, explorers died of hunger, cold and disease, became victims of earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and tsunamis. However, no difficulties and misfortunes could check this powerful movement to study and develop the range of islands near Russia. Back in 1749, the first school was opened at Shunshu for the children of the Aynas. The Russian government insisted on the building of durable residential houses and various premises there and only after that was permission granted for hunting and fishing. The families of peasants and artisans from Siberia and the Central regions of Russia, the Urals and northern areas went to the remote Kurils. They brought cattle and began tilling the land. The Kuril land began to yield cereals and vegetables for the first time.

Finally, in the year 1786, the first Japanese boats appeared at Kunashir Island. The first reconnaissance mission was headed by Mogami Tokunai, whose main task was to determine all places of residence of Russians in Southern Kurils. He made the following admission: "I sailed along first island of Kunashir to reach Iturup. Never had anyone in history reached that island. I was the first Japanese to step upon that land. Its inhabitants were surprised to see me and a crowd surrounded me."<sup>9</sup>

Now we shall quote a lengthy but highly indicative passage from the book by the Japanese historian S. Nakamura, entitled *Russians and Japanese*.<sup>10</sup> Here is what Nakamura wrote:

"...Russians had already been living there for a year; they had erected crosses and urged the Aynas to convert to Christianity. Some of the latter had a good command of the Russian language and could even serve as translators. Having skirted the coast of the island by boat, Tokunai... arrived at the settlement of Syarusyamu (on Iturup). Three Russians, upon learning of the arrival of the Japanese, came to the coast to meet them with the Aynas. ...First of all, Tokunai asked: 'Do

<sup>9</sup> Cited from the book by B. Polevov, *The First Explorers of the Kuril Islands*, Moscow, 1982, p. 142.

<sup>10</sup> Cited from the book by S. Nakamura, *Russians and Japanese*, Moscow, 1983, pp. 76-79 (in Russian).

you know that the Japanese government has prohibited foreigners from entering the country?' Tokunai was amazed by the composed answer of Ijue: "Yes, we do. However, this is not Japan... There are no government bodies either on Iturup or on Urup. The Aynas of this island do not consider themselves to be subjects of Japan... Since the time 30 years ago when a Japanese ship wrecked at Iturup, you are probably the first Japanese to set foot on this island".

"All that was correct but Tokunai did not give up. Raising his voice he said: 'I am a representative of the Japanese government. Here and now I declare that the Island of Iturup is the territory of Japan.' In response Ijue laughed and answered: 'You may declare as much as you like. However, 70-odd years ago... Kozyrevsky landed on the Island of Shumshu, explored the northern part of the Kuril Islands, and a sea route between Okhotsk and Kamchatka was opened by Russians. Since then, the citizens of our state have arrived here in large groups, and Russian settlements have long been built on Iturup and Urup.'

Tokunai had nothing to say. But what would happen if the Russians created fortified strongholds on Urup and Iturup? Tokunai stood up, took a large sword in his left hand, and staring at Ijue's blue eyes, said resolutely: 'On behalf of the Japanese government, I declare you three under arrest. If you resist, there will be nothing left to me but to use force.' This is what S. Nakamura writes.

Several years later the Japanese government again demonstrated its intentions unequivocally. A military detachment led by Samurai Kondo Sigetoshi was sent to the Kurils. Now let us proceed with the account of S. Nakamura:

*"On July 28 (1798) the Japanese toppled the sign posts put up by the*

<sup>11</sup> Ijue—the chief representative of Russians during the meeting with Tokunai. The true name of that person has not yet been established.

*Russians and erected their own... with the inscription "Etorofu (Iturup)—possession of Great Japan." A similar action was carried out on the Island of Kunashir in 1800. The village elder—an Ayna—stuck firmly to Russian customs. He was a Christian and erected a three-metre cross at which the local inhabitants prayed in the morning and in the evening. When Kondo noticed that, he toppled the cross. In 1801, several people from Kondo's detachment reached Urup where there were Russian settlements and erected a sign with an inscription consisting of nine hieroglyphs: "This island has belonged to Great Japan since time immemorial..."<sup>12</sup>*

Let us turn to another document to assess objectively what happened. Here is an admission by Hondo Toshiaki who was among the first to favour the ousting of the Russians not only from the Kurils, but even from Kamchatka: "The barbarians living on the islands to the east, south and west of Kamchatka, are leaning toward the Russians like ants towards sugar because the Russians have succeeded in deriving lessons from the experience of their struggle and efforts."<sup>13</sup> And this was said a century ago!

The further history of the Kuril Islands was full of dramatic developments. However, that is another story.

...The Cape of Kastrikum on Urup juts out into the ocean like an arrow. The light of the beacon can be seen at sea from a distance of 40 kilometres. Like a lodestar in the fog, it points the way to the harbour which two centuries ago, was the gates of the "capital" of the area which went down in history as Kurilo-Russia. For several years running... Soviet archaeologists have found the remains of houses, tools for hunting and fishing and household items of the first inhabitants of the Kuril, which serve as evidence of the unquestionable priority of the Russians there and the historic right of Russia to that land.

<sup>12</sup> S. Nakamura, *Op. Cit.*, p. 122.

<sup>13</sup> B. Polevoy, *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

INTERNATIONAL

MOZAMBIQUE-SOUTH AFRICA RELATIONS, SOCIOECONOMIC ISSUES NOTED

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[Article by Vladimir Kokorev: "Mozambique: Reality is More Complex than Theories"]

[Text]

Ten years ago, in June 1975, the people of Mozambique, after a long armed struggle, led by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), delivered itself from the yoke of Portuguese colonialism and became independent. Today, overcoming immense objective difficulties and repulsing external and internal reaction, the country is building a new life, having embarked on the road of socialist orientation. The following feature story, written by a Soviet scholar and journalist who has made several visits to Mozambique, tells of various aspects of this complex process.

The Island of Inhaca, a streak of undulating darkness separating the sea from the sky on the horizon, is a kind of barometer for Maputo's citizens. The sky may be bright and clear, but if the hills of Inhaca are hazy, get ready for a surprise from nature.

Having cast a customary glance toward the ocean, I did not see the island. However, the weather in the capital that day was of little concern to me, for my car headed north to Gaza Province along a route I had become familiar with five years earlier.

The blue of the sea gave way to the khaki hues of the savannah, while my memory trailed back to a city scene left behind—the sight of a woman on a corner of Lenin and Kaunda streets, who was wrapping up something in a piece of particoloured fabric, furtively looking around. She was helped by a little girl, holding up the small and supple bundle. Suddenly it dawned on me they were handling an infant, an unbelievably tiny one. And that wary look of the woman. What did she make of my glance? The joy of seeing a newborn or an inadvertent fear for the fate of that frail life?

The most frequent word you come across in the Mozambican press is "inproductivo"—nonproducer, or perhaps "non-productive element". This refers to the unemployed, although how can a person who has never had a job in his life be called unemployed? And such is the plight of hundreds of

thousands of Mozambican peasants who have moved to the cities in recent years. This is typical of all African countries.

In Mozambique, migration to the cities has a number of peculiarities stemming both from the colonial past and the present vehement opposition to the new progressive state on the part of internal and external reaction. One peculiarity is the traditional system of job hunting in neighbouring South Africa. Since this outlet has now been cut back substantially, many families are heading to the cities. In a society where archaic traditions of division of labour according to age and sex are still strong and clear, men who are temporarily out of work tend to discuss their situations over a glass of beer while women and children make desperate efforts to save the family from starvation.

The effect on Mozambique of migrant workers in South Africa was specially studied by the African Research Centre at the Eduardo Mondlane University through interviews with migrant miners. The results were published in the book *Black Gold* (1983) by head of the research, Ruth First.<sup>1</sup> In April 1979, I happened to participate in one of the Centre's expeditions, as was reported at the time in this magazine.<sup>2</sup>

Chai-Chai is a town with a single paved street forming part of the Maputo-Beira Highway No 1. The streets are mostly crowded with peasants from neighbouring villages who have come to town for food or medical aid. There are also men in uniforms—soldiers of the regular army and volunteers. The Limpopo River makes a picturesque curve round the town, and on its bank a new park with a bust of Eduardo Mondlane, founder of the ruling FRELIMO party, has been laid out. Bunches of fresh flowers at the foot of the modest monument bespeak the local people's respect for the memory of their fellow-countryman.

The water at the Limpopo's mouth is usually saline (due to the nearby ocean), but due to rainfall in the upper reaches of the river, the water had turned almost fresh, inducing crocodiles to visit the town. Usually they are content with garbage but wouldn't refuse some unwary bather or a child playing on the bank. At least, such is the warning to visitors wishing to go down to the water's edge.

The sight-seeing list would be incomplete without mention of an old steam engine on tracks overgrown with surprisingly green grass—a relic of the times of Cecil Rhodes' colonial adventures—as well as the square in front of the cathedral, now a station for hitch-hikers.

By midday even the thin shadow of the cathedral's bell-tower is gone. In the middle of the sidewalk lies a woman, her chin resting on her palms. Another woman, squatting alongside, is braiding her hair in the style appropriately known as "Daughter of Africa" or "Arrows of Africa"—a multitude of stiff braids sticking out in all directions like the detonating fuses of an underwater mine. This hairdo requires no less than three hours of meticulous work. In front of the women lies

<sup>1</sup> Ruth First, *Black Gold. The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant*, Sussex, the Harvest Press, 1983, 256 pp.

<sup>2</sup> V. Kokorev, "Seven Days in Marranke Village", *Asia and Africa Today*, 1980, No. 8 (in Russian).

a ragged fashion magazine. With eyes benumbed by heat and endless waiting for a ride they look indifferently at the stockings, slips and fur coats worn by models, the whiteness of whose skin is underscored by the colour photographs.

Don't be taken in by their indifference, for it is more apparent than real. The women know that all these things (or at least some of them) can be purchased in South Africa. Their husbands and fathers or the husbands and fathers of their neighbours have brought such things from over there. In all probability, each of them still has some such attractive piece of clothing, and this strikes a discordant note in their present situation.

Speaking of the plight of Mozambican miners in South Africa, President Samora Machel said the following: "The gold went into the safes of the metropolis, while the Mozambican brought home, in addition to a watch, a suitcase, a radio set, a jacket and a soft hat, the illusion of wealth."

The nurturing of this illusion was a number one priority among the measures taken by colonisers in hiring African labour. Having started at the end of last century to recruit Africans in the neighbouring Portuguese colonies, British entrepreneurs from Natal and Transvaal, to keep from spoil their relations with the warlike Zulu chiefs, came up with a poster showing two men: one naked and emaciated, the other well-dressed, corpulent, and handing out money from bulging pockets to the surrounding women and children. There was no caption (no need as the people were illiterate) but the message was clear: if you are poor, go and work in the mines, and you will get rich.

This idea sank deep into the peasant's archaic mind. Going to work in South Africa, sanctified by tradition, virtually turned into a clan ritual. I well remember the wary look given us, members of the sociological team, by the miners' families we interviewed in the spring of 1979. But such an attitude was no surprise to us. Prior to the expedition, we had undergone sort of training sessions with a certain Alfeus Manguenzi, a political refugee from South Africa, whose emigration to Mozambique was in fact a homecoming.

At the beginning of this century, after the Portuguese defeated Gungungwana, the supreme chief of the Changanis people, several Changanis clans moved and settled in Transvaal. Alfeus Manguenzi's ancestors were among them. Having acquired a higher education in Europe, he still retained a touch of natural African artistry. With inimitable humour and, as it turned out later, exactness, he played the part of our would-be interlocutors. We were now faced with a stily simple-minded elderly man trying to find out what additional harm could come from those strange visiting "Englishmen" (this is the appellation given by Mozambican peasants to all foreigners except the Portuguese); then with an uncouth youth dreaming of earning his lobolo—bride price; then with a young man just back from the mines and looking down on all who hadn't been there.

"Speaking of real changes in the psychology of Mozambicans during the years of independence, one should mention first of all a more open-minded attitude toward old traditions

and customs", said Alfeus Manguenzi, who was working at the Eduardo Mondlane University, when we started our talks, "Of course, customs and traditions are still observed by peasants or former peasants who have resettled in the cities, but men, and maybe even to a greater extent women, have ceased to treat them as something intractable and at the same time shameful from the viewpoint of European culture. While in the old days the peasants used to say what they thought some government official wanted to hear, now they are ready to speak their minds."

This reminds me of one episode I witnessed in the small town of Chekwe. The local group of the FRELIMO youth organisation held a rally devoted to an important and topical problem of the day—enhancement of the role of women in public life. There were many speakers and all of them spoke glibly about the growing importance of women in independent Mozambique and the fact that the revolution had delivered women not only from colonial but also "domestic" slavery. In the meantime, my attention was drawn by one detail: the youths were seated on chairs and benches brought in by the girls, who sat on the floor. Quick-witted Maria, instructor of the provincial committee of the youth organisation, lost no time in countering the surprise of the inquisitive foreigner: "In a skirt it's no good sitting in a chair!"

In 1979, visiting the newly formed "collective villages", I repeatedly heard the peasants' assurances that polygamy, initiation and bride-price were customs of "bygone days". This was said with a condescending smile meant to show the irrelevance of such questions. It is true that today Mozambicans are not ashamed of discussing customs and are ridding themselves of the inferiority complex over their culture instilled by the colonisers. At the same time, though rather slowly, there is a growing interest in another, more active lifestyle, running counter to the fatalism of communal customs.

So far, this activity has been finding expression mostly in discussions to the effect that not all customs have outlived themselves. I have heard more than once that there is a bit of rationality in the custom of initiation that gives a girl knowledge of womanhood. There are also many supporters, especially among women, of bride-price. During a national discussion of this issue, they came out in favour of this custom as a purely symbolic gift to demonstrate the bride-groom's gratitude to the girl's parents for raising the daughter. Some women think this would also guarantee a more respectful attitude of husband to wife.

"The question of polygamy is not simple either," said Clara Souza, university professor in the economics department. "In essence, polygamy is not so much an ethical as productive form of family relations, the basis of a family cooperative. Anyhow, you will not find much enthusiasm over monogamy among women in rural areas.

Clara knows this firsthand. Her family has recently moved to the capital from Nampula Province, where her relatives took an active part in the national liberation struggle. The fate of this twenty-four-year-old woman is in some respects typical of many Mozambicans whose childhood passed during the last years of colonialism, but so far, is not very common for Mozambican women. She was among the first to get a higher

education, and today she is the only African woman teaching at the University where she continues her own studies.

"The colonisers played up various prejudices in relations between different tribes in our country. Thus, they supported the view that the Southerners—the Changani, Ronga, Tonga—are the most developed Africans because they go to work in South Africa, while the Northerners—the Makua, Makonde and Vayao, professing Islam, are barbarians, who practice cannibalism. I still hear some of my acquaintances say: 'How could you live in the North? They eat people there.'"

The northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Nampula are the site of research for young Mozambican historian Yusuf Adam whom I addressed with the question how the institutions of traditional African society are being transformed in the new "collective villages".

"The socio-political activity of the peasants", he answered, "is undoubtedly on the rise. One of its manifestations is, for example, the struggle against erstwhile powerful sorcerers. There are still cases when even local officials resort to the use of magic potions that are supposed to help further their careers. This makes it even more significant that simple peasants—who for ages feared witchhunts (anyone could be declared an "evil spirit" and punished by death)—have begun to expose sorcerers and report them to the authorities. But the institution of tribal chiefs has adapted itself to the new conditions in a number of cases. There are cooperatives in which the old chiefs, by hook or by crook, have obtained positions of leadership and have created a new system to exploit their fellow Africans. Many such chiefs are connected with black market profiteers".

Mozambican reality confronts the peasant with the unavoidable question: whose side are you on in this country? He has to answer this question himself, without reference to customs and elders.

On one of the numerous leaflets with photos of members of the so-called Mozambican National Resistance who have been taken prisoner or have given themselves up, and reproductions of their letters to friends who remain with bandits ("I have surrendered. What are you waiting for?"), glued on the walls in Chai-Chai, I noticed a familiar name—Marranke. We had made a stop-over in that village five years earlier. This was the village from which came the man whose face looked at us from the poster—Jorge Fernandes, Jr.

To arrange a meeting with him, a mere youth of 17, was no problem. In the yard of the town prison, they brought me a thin-limbed fellow, still holding a broom of palm leaves, with which he had just swept the small prison yard. He seemed uncertain what to do with the broom now. A distracted smile on his face and an all too common story which hardly merited the arrangement of a special meeting.

Attended school in Chai-Chai; in the spring of 1982 went on holiday to his parents in Marranke; suddenly the bandits struck and kidnapped him; made him a secretary to write down orders of the illiterate chief and his reports to South Africa. With a bitter smile: "It is true what they say—that a man with an education can find a job anywhere. I did not kill.

I had no time to kill anybody..."

During my previous visit, I had had long talks with boys of his age and older. We joked and argued a lot. Already in the offing was the prospect of independence for Zimbabwe, there was hope that Rhodesian attacks would stop and the situation would quiet down. But young people were agitated about other things: what to do if unemployment continued to rise? Where to get money for lobolo, the sum of which, including various gifts, amounted to a miner's saving for a whole year...

In 1979, to put pressure on the Mozambican government, South Africa lowered the migrant work force quota from 100,000 to 40,000. Besides purely economic damage (South Africa used to pay Mozambique over \$ 120 million annually for the right to recruit workers) this measure, as practice showed, caused serious socio-political repercussions.

Among those who continued to go to work in South Africa were people with experience in the mines, that is to say, married men—such was the tradition. New earnings allowed them to enlarge the family—to marry young girls. The youths, forced out of the customary circle of communal life, proved a reservoir for South African agents to recruit as members of the Mozambique National Resistance force. Rhodesian racists killed Mozambican children, and racists from South Africa tried to kill their future.

It was to a large extent the traditionalism of communal life and the efforts of those who support it that prevented many of these boys from finding their place in life. To solve the problem that faced them, tribal chiefs offered a traditional solution: if you can't buy a wife, take her by force. It was with the kidnapping of wives that organised banditry began in some areas. Jorge Fernandes related that when attacking a village, the bandits killed the men and children, and took the women away for slaves and concubines. But even this did not save their lives, for the "new recruits" were forced to kill them. Senseless cruelty and mass murder is committed not only to intimidate peasants who have tasted freedom, but above all to "bind" the bandits by "ties of blood" and to frustrate all hope of escape. Thus, even after the signing of the Mozambique-South Africa treaty on security (March 1984) banditry has not let up and ever new acts of terror have been committed, including attacks on buses and passenger trains, entailing many casualties.

Some people cannot reconcile themselves to the notion that Mozambique is no longer a mere geographical zone between the industrial Transvaal and the Indian Ocean. And such people are not necessarily found among monopolists and bourgeois politicians. A substantial portion of the middle class in this part of Africa is nostalgic for the "good life" that used to be.

This was openly avowed by visitors to the cafe Gelados Italianos, at whose cozy tables once gathered the "cream of society" in Lourenço-Marques. Today Mozambique's capital has a different name, and as to the "cream of society", on the day I glanced under the cafe's awning, there was room for all of them around a single table. Advised by the waiter



that neither coffee, nor icecream were available, I inquired what the "cream of society" was drinking. "The seigniores have brought instant coffee and sugar, and I supply them with hot water", was the answer.

The visitors turned their heads and, having appraised the situation, invited me to join their company, offered me a cup of aromatic coffee and lots of "high society talk". Conversation topics in 1984 in Maputo were the aftermath of Hurricane Demoina that struck the country in February and the shifts in Mozambican--South African relations. These themes were easily connected. A man with a philosophic look, unhurried manners and a shiny bald spot made this observation: "Here is the most graphic proof of the principle of geographical determinism for you: when it rains in South Africa, rivers flood in Mozambique..."

But on the whole, my interlocutors were concerned with more prosaic things than "geographical determinism". How soon would they see the foodstuffs and consumer goods promised by South Africa? Would there be free access to Johannesburg on weekends? Weren't hotels too expensive there?

It is only human to make the best of any situation, but here something bigger was at stake. For my interlocutors the treaty with South Africa was a signal for the possibility of a change in the choice made by the Mozambican people. At least that was their heart's desire. But the bulk of Mozambicans think otherwise.

"The treaty on security and economic agreements with South Africa are emergency measures," said well-known Mozambican scientist, writer, and journalist Aquino Braganca, director of the African Research Centre. "We need them to consolidate the achievements of the revolution while we build the foundations of a socialist society. We need peace, and we hope that thanks to the agreements, we shall get peace, at least for a time."

The situation in the south of Africa remains complex and explosive. It is an open secret that the cause of this is the apartheid regime in South Africa and the combined American-South African political and military pressure on the neighbouring independent states to force them to recognize the racist regime. Said Ruth First during our last talk in April 1979: "South Africa will not leave Mozambique in peace because the racists fear the existence of any multiracial societies. The more so on their doorstep. Apartheid is the ideology of racial prejudice, and racism is immanent in petty-bourgeois psychology. Conservation of this archaism is one of the priorities of the South African state machine. In the past, the Boers encircled their camps with wagons, and now the white nationalists envisage a modern barrier even stronger. They aim not only at keeping the system intact but also at preserving the prejudices that nourish it. That is why everything that exposes their duplicity and vulgarity is declared in South Africa to be a 'threat to national security'."

The fate of Ruth First is proof that apartheid does not forgive those who challenge it. The racists meted out revenge to her for the fact that, though she belonged to the "master race", she refused the privileges that the colour of her skin guaranteed her and began an implacable struggle with their policy of mass deceptions.

The explosion that killed her went off in the very room where we once held "training sessions" before going out to the provinces. Today there is nothing to remind one of the tragic events of August 17, 1982. The walls have long been painted pale-blue, new window panes installed and the broken furniture replaced. Now it is a study room for the staff of the African Research Centre in which African scholars from many countries work. When I dropped in one day before my departure to Moscow, I did not see any familiar faces there. At the desk by the window sat a woman in a loose linen shirt and worn blue jeans. Scribbling away in her note-book, she glanced from time to time at a big wicker basket in the corner that held two babies. One of them, judging from his red curls and freckles, was her son. He was trying to take a plastic toy lion from his dark-skinned playmate. The babies were snorting in unison.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON ETHNOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN PEOPLES REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 85 pp 62-63

[Review by S. Kozlov of O. S. Lvova Book: "Ethnography of Africa", Moscow State University Publishers, Moscow, 1984, 248 pp]

[Text]

Having scrupulously examined a vast amount of literature (including African sources) and using Marxist sociological principles as the basis, the author has summed up a large amount of factual material and analysed conceptions formed in the process of studying the ethnic history of the African peoples, their economies, material culture, and social and spiritual life. The thematic principle of the author's presentation allowed her to provide an integral account of the development and present state of different spheres of culture and social life in Africa and to demonstrate clearly and consistently the genesis of various phenomena, the interconnections between peoples and cultures, to single out both features which are common to many or even all African peoples, and those which are individual and occur in only one ethnic group.

The author has presented a large amount of material in a vivid, logical manner and has disproved the colonialist and neocolonialist theories of the age-old "ignorance", "inferiority" of the "Black continent's" peoples, convincingly proving that the cultural and social lives of the African pe-

oples, though highly specific, are nonetheless a part of human culture, world civilization, and world history. Many current ethnographic questions are quite relevant here.

The historical transformations which have affected practically all spheres of life in recent decades, have brought to scholarly and public attention such problems as the modification of different economic and social structures (family, commune, tribe), the formation of peoples and nations, and interethnic relations (including tribalism and separatism), the formation of new cultures, etc. The analysis of these problems has become a factor in the struggle between old and new, and between the progressive and reactionary forces now occurring in all African countries. The main focus of this struggle is the top priority problems facing Africa: i. e. the choice of a path of development, and the mode, orientation and pace of this development. Knowledge of ethnography of the African peoples is becoming a major factor in this struggle to influence the world outlook of different social groups, first of all, of the youth.

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INTERNATIONAL

THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 3, May-Jun 85 pp 63-64

[Review by P. Khvoynik of book by V. A. Isayev: "Economic Relations Between the Arab States and Developing Countries. 1961-1980," Moscow, Nauka, 1983, 151 pp]

[Text] By referring to concrete examples, Isayev shows that, on the whole, economic cooperation between the Arab states and other developing countries showed a clear increase; during the 1961 to 1980 period their mutual trade was growing and ties in various economic spheres were gaining ground. The years following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war saw a noticeable invigoration of cooperation in the financial sphere.

Of late, preconditions have emerged for the transition to a new level of economic relations among the partners.

Isayev pays much attention to the analysis of the centrifugal and centripetal forces in the relations between the two groups of states. In his opinion both groups are developing mutual cooperation so as "to stop the orientation of their economies towards the Western market, to increase their economic potential and enhance their role in the world economy" (p. 119). The author also justly notes that the process of developing this cooperation is far from simple, since relations between Arab and other newly-free countries are marked by another tendency, i.e., the striving of each primarily to speed up its own economic growth, and raise its own economic potential, which often impedes the progress of cooperation.

Far from merely enumerating these problems, the author analyses the strategic aims, principles, methods, and the socio-political consequences of economic cooperation between the Arab states and the newly-independent countries. He believes that the export of capital from the oil-producing Arab countries to other young states was the most typical feature of this cooperation in the 1970s. Moreover, by many parameters this process began to outstrip the mutual economic activities of the two groups of states in other spheres.

The author provides arguments to prove that some conservative Arab states exploit the export of the so-called petrodollars as a means of influence on the economic, and in many cases political development of a recipient country.

In this context, Isayev points out that the subsidies provided by the feudal monarchies of the Persian Gulf are used by the recipient countries for their further development along the capitalist road, which means that these subsidies are of the same type as imperialist "aid." On the other hand, credits and loans granted to developing countries, which have embarked on radical and progressive socio-economic changes, have as their aim the tying of those countries to their donors, in order to make them "depart from the progressive course they are following and prevent them from spreading their revolutionising influence" (p. 87).

The author also examines the consequences of the merger of Arab "petroleum" and Western big capital for the economic cooperation between the Arab and other newly-free states, and analyses the policy of transnationals which are seeking to adapt the mechanism of this cooperation to achieve their own interests in the developing world.

The monograph is notable for its comprehensive approach to the subject. All the conclusions are based on a thorough analysis of extensive Soviet and foreign sources. The book is supplemented with numerous analytical tables.

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REGIONAL

# DEMIRCHYAN'S VICTORY DAY SPEECH

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 8 May 85 p 1

[Speech by Armenian CP Central Committee First Secretary K. Demirchyan:  
"The Achievement of the Soviet People: A Festive Gathering Dedicated to  
the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory"]

[Text] Four decades separate us from that memorable moment when the Red Banner was raised over the Reichstag, proclaiming to the world the great Victory over fascism. The Soviet people and its Armed Forces under the leadership of the Communist Party dealt a crushing defeat to the hated enemy. Having liberated the occupied areas of the Motherland of the Great October Revolution, they saved the world from the brown plague. For 1,418 days in this, the fiercest and bloodiest of wars, they demonstrated the unbending will and fortitude, and the ardent patriotism and internationalism of the Soviet people.

Thanks to the firm and consistent peace-loving policy of the Communist Party the Soviet people have been leading constructive lives for four decades.

In these days the Soviet people again and again are thoughtfully returning to those terrible days, when the battle was being fought not for life, but to the death on behalf of their native land. They remember with great honor and respect those who fell on the fields of battle for the liberation of their Fatherland--who have not seen the fruits of the Victory. And they bestow their gift of gratitude to the fighting men who, after the victory, put away their swords and took up constructive labor, who are still in the ranks today.

The lessons of history must not be forgotten. Remembering the terrible tragedy which fell to the lot of mankind, the Soviet people will always stand steadfastly in the defense of peace. They express their profound gratitude to the Communist Party and the Soviet State, and ardently support their foreign policy activities, the principal purpose of which is not to permit dragging the planet Earth into a new destructive war.

These constructive thoughts and aspirations of the Armenian people, the workers of the republic and all Soviet people were expressed anew at the festive gathering dedicated to the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory, held on 7 May in the Sports Arena of the Yerevan Sports and Concert Complex.

Veterans of war and labor, representatives of the workers of the republic's capital, representatives of the Soviet Army, and guests have come here.

In the background, troops from the Yerevan garrison form the honor guard next to the battle flags. The Order of the Patriotic War, which symbolizes the great historical Victory of the Soviet people, is sparkling.

On the presidium are Comrades K.S. Demirchyan, B.E. Sarkisov, F.T. Sarkisyan, Yu.P. Kochetkov, G.M. Voskanyan, V.B. Galumyan, K.A. Gambaryan, K.L. Dallakyan, M.P. Kolesnikov, L.N. Nersesyan, S.M. Petrosyan, D.A. Arutyunyan, M.K. Arutyunyan, M.O. Muradyan, L.G. Saakyan, A.O. Topuzyan, and M.A. Yuzbashyan; Deputy Chairmen of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, O.M. Bagdasaryan and I.A. Bagirov; First Deputy Chairmen of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers A.M. Kirakosyan and V.M. Movsisyan; and Deputy Chairmen of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers G.A. Ayrapetyan, R.A. Arzumanyan, G.S. Sagoyan, and Yu. E. Khodzhamiryan.

Together with them on the presidium are Heroes of the Soviet Union, full cavaliers of the Order of Glory, Heroes of Socialist Labor, prominent military leaders, war veterans, and participants in the partisan movement.

The festive gathering was opened by First Secretary of the Yerevan Gorkom of the Armenian CP L.N. Nersesyan.

Under the arches of the hall the State Hymn of the Union of SSR and the Armenian SSR resounded solemnly.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo was chosen as honorary presidium to thunderous applause.

And the floor was given to First Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, K.S. Demirchyan, who warmly greeted those present.

"The farther that 9 May 1945--Victory Day--recedes into the past," said he, "the more fully and clearly the magnitude and historical significance is revealed of the unprecedented achievement of the Soviet people and its splendid Armed Forces, who dealt a crushing defeat to Hitlerite Fascism--the most monstrous result of world Imperialism.

"This great Victory, achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party in the most difficult and fiercest of all wars which our Motherland had ever endured--was the victory of our heroic working class; of the kolkhoz farmers; of our intelligentsiya; the victory of the entire multinational Soviet people. This is the victory of the glorious Soviet Army; the army created by the revolution and nurtured by the party; which is inseparably united with the people. This is the victory of the Soviet state created by Lenin; of the most advanced social system, the socialist economic system. This is the victory of Soviet military science, and the art of Soviet generals. This is the victory of the spiritual weapon of our people--Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR.

"The rout of the usurper's armies near Moscow; the defense of Leningrad; the heroic epic of Stalingrad; the battle for the Caucasus; the grandiose engagement on the Kursk-Orlov arc; the Korsun'-Shevchenkovskiy operation; the triumphant storming of Berlin, and many other major operations which will forever be a part of the history of wars, have brought undying glory to Soviet arms.

"The eternal flame of glory will burn forever on the pages of the great book of battle; it was won by the heroic defenders of the Motherland, and will blaze and stir the hearts of ever newer generations with fervent love for their native land; it will inspire and teach selfless devotion to the ideals of our society--readiness to stand up to the defense of its gains at any moment.

"A living monument to the Fatherland, the names of the glorious sons of the Motherland are held sacred. They have become immortal; they have become a legend, and they live in our tirelessly creative lives; they live in the names of streets, schools, plants and ships. The grateful heirs of the Great Victory have perpetuated the memory of those slain on the fields of battle in the majestic monuments, memorials, and springs. An endless stream of people is coming to them on these pre-holiday days. The entire country bows its head before those who fell in the sacred war for their native land. The heroes who perished in the battles are with us, are in our hearts, and in our deeds".

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan asked that everyone rise to pay homage to their bright memory. The audience observed a moment of silence in homage to the memory of those who gave to the Victory what was dearest to them--their lives.

"The principal creator of the Victory, the principal hero of the war--was the multinational Soviet people, who endured the severe tests and the many, many misfortunes with honor. In the fierce battles with the enemy the full force of its gigantic spirit was displayed--its courage; the staunchness of Soviet man; the heroism of the Soviet soldier--his will, his fearlessness, and his selfless devotion to the party; his blazing patriotism.

"We have a right to be proud of the fact that hundreds of thousands of sons and daughters of the Armenian people and the other nationalities who dwell in the republic, fought on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War, shoulder to shoulder with the sons and daughters of the other Soviet peoples.

"Today, there are in this hall veterans of the war, who took part in the fierce battles with the enemy; now grown old and grey, former soldiers and officers who have honorably fulfilled their duty to the country, to the party, to history. Your martial deeds and achievements, dear comrades, will never be forgotten.

"We thank you fervently, from the bottom of our hearts, for your feats of arms, and we congratulate you and on your behalf all the veterans of the war on Victory Day; your Victory; the great Victory of the Soviet People. And we wish you good fortune, long years of life, and success in labor for the good of our native land.



"The Great Patriotic War", continued Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, "has convincingly demonstrated the monolithic unity of the party and the people, and the indestructible friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR.

"The indestructible fraternal friendship of the Soviet peoples in the war years not only endured severe trials, it became even stronger. And the great Russian people, which bore on its mighty shoulders the principal weight of the war, played the greatest role in the Victory of the united Soviet family over the sworn enemy. A patriot-nation, an internationalist-nation--the founder of the revolution, a warrior-nation, an indestructible wall, which rose to the defense of the gains of socialism, the multinational Soviet Fatherland--through its heroism, its unprecedented bravery, staunchness, will to win, and selfless devotion to the cause of the party and to the ideals of communism, has earned the boundless faith and universal love of all the peoples of the USSR.

"The great force of friendship, mutual assistance and close labor cooperation of the fraternal Soviet peoples were vividly displayed not only on the fields of conflict, but also in the extremely difficult matter of creating in the shortest possible time a unified, highly-organized military economy in the country, capable of supplying the needs of the front at an increasing rate and on a growing scale.

"Industrial Armenia became one of the forges of the front. Having rapidly reorganized in accordance with wartime requirements, the republic's industry supplied the Army with nearly 300 kinds of arms and ammunition. Everything was subordinated to a single goal--to supply our heroic Army with everything required for battle with the sworn enemy.

"The appearance of Yerevan, Leninakan, Kirovakan and other cities and towns of that time will always remain in the memory of many of us in this hall, and in the memory of the generations of children and adolescents of the war years.

"The battles took place far away from Armenia, and no bombs and shells exploded here; but they lived the hard life of the frontal regions, experienced all the pain and deprivations which fell to the fate of our country. There was no house which avoided the misfortune of the war; there was no household where one could not hear the cries of the mothers and widows. However, in spite of everything else, our rear area laborers did not for one minute abandon their workplaces, their combat labor posts.

"From Armenia trains went to the front with ammunition; trains with volunteers and recruits; and trains arrived full of wounded. The cities of the republic became hospital towns; they received thousands of wounded and surround each of them with motherly concern and kindness. Armenia became home also for many destitute people who were saved from the enemy invasion; old folks, women, and orphans. With all of this, here in the rear area, again and again the profound affinity and true fraternal solidarity of the Soviet people were displayed.

"The inspiration for and the organizer of the Victory of the Soviet people", continued Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, "was the Communist Party. In the war years the distinctive features of its political leadership were vividly displayed--its profound science, revolutionary energy and purposefulness; its firmness and determination in solving the problems posed. From the very first days of the war it became a fighting party. Communists were always in the front ranks both at the front and in the rear area; they were the inspiration of achievement and led the way to victory. It was the party itself that organized and rallied all the Soviet people, that directed their energies, their will and their actions to a single goal--victory over the enemy.

"The Soviet people had limitless faith in the party, and it vindicated this trust. In the war years the indestructible unity of the party and the people became even stronger, and this was the decisive condition for our Victory.

"The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people was a war of liberation; it was a just war. The heroic struggle of the Soviet people profoundly altered the course of the Second World War. After all, the principal theater of military operations was the Soviet-German Front. In essence it was here that not only the fate of the Soviet people, but the fate of all of mankind was resolved.

"Our Soviet people and our Armed Forces made the decisive contribution to the Victory over Fascist Germany and its allies--in liberating Europe from fascist slavery, and in saving world civilization--it carried out its patriotic and international duty with honor. This is their majestic service to humanity.

"Forty years separate us from the Victory in the Great Patriotic War. But its lessons have lasting significance, the chief of which is, that one must fight against war before it starts. Historical experience teaches, that in order to defend the peace, the unified, coordinated and active measures of all peace-loving forces are needed to counter the aggressive, adventurist course of Imperialism. The vigilance of the people must be increased, to protect and multiply the gains of socialism.

"And this is especially urgent at present, when our class enemies are trying to 'commemorate' in their own way the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. They have deployed a large-scale campaign whose purpose is to belittle the role of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, and to foist on society their own interpretation of the events of those years; an interpretation which excuses the imperialist war instigators and even the fascist monsters themselves.

"But the historic truth is, that the fate of the Second World War was cast on its main front. The landing of the allied troops in Europe took place at a time when it became completely obvious that the Soviet Union was capable,

even without allied aid, of inflicting the final blow on Fascist Germany. However, the Soviet-German Front remained the principal and the decisive front even after the Second Front was opened.

"Reactionary imperialist circles, and above all the United States, have declared a new 'crusade' against socialism, and they are attempting to achieve military superiority over the USSR and its allies; they have launched an unrestrained arms race, and are trying to dictate their will to sovereign states from a position of strength. Plans for militarization of space pose a special danger to the cause of peace. Their goal is to give the USA the capability to launch a nuclear strike on the Soviet Union with impunity, being protected from retaliation by an antimissile 'shield'.

"The CPSU and the Soviet State are doing everything to preserve and strengthen the peace; to forestall the threat of nuclear war. True to its Leninist peace-loving foreign policy course, our country is continuing to take energetic efforts to make the planet's political climate a healthy one."

"Remembering the unbelievably gigantic price which the Soviet people and the other nations in the anti-Hitlerite coalition paid for the Victory," CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "we return again and again to the tragedy which befell humanity. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government see the main purpose of their foreign policy activities as to not permit anything of the sort ever to take place again, much less a nuclear catastrophe."

"For forty years the Soviet people have been living and working in peaceful conditions .

"Looking back at the 40 postwar years through which we have passed, it is crystal clear that our country has achieved outstanding successes, and that our limitless creative capabilities are disclosed more fully with each passing year. Today the efforts of the party and the people are concentrated on improving all aspects of the life of our socialist society, on accelerating the socio-economic development of the country, on improving the material conditions of life and labor of Soviet man, and of enriching his spiritual makeup.

"The preparations for and the celebration of our memorable jubilee--the celebration of the Victory," said Comrade K.S. Demirchyan in conclusion, "have coincided with the widespread preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, a congress which will play a special role in the history of our party and our country--which will open new prospects for communist creativity.

"The tasks facing our country are complex and vast. And the most important of these is to fulfill the plans and socialist obligations of 1985, to successfully complete the 11th Five Year Plan.

"The workers of Soviet Armenia, as all Soviet people, ardently support the wise domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party, and are putting its creative plans into practice through their patriotic labor. They are greeting the nationwide holiday with high labor indicators. Reports are coming in from all parts of the republic, that many enterprises, organizations, construction projects, and thousands of workers have successfully fulfilled the five-year plan in honor of the 40th Anniversary of the Victory.

"The labor and political atmosphere at our place is good. We have great programs for the further all-round development and flourishing of our republic. We know our own strengths and our capabilities, and we look to the future with confidence. The invigorating source of our strength was, is and shall be communist ideology, the wise leadership of our Leninist party, and the fraternity and friendship of the nations.

"The glorious Victory Jubilee is a holiday which inspires all the Soviet people to a greater creative upsurge, to a patriotic striving to multiply the fruits of Victory through inspired labor, and to greet the 27th CPSU Congress with new achievements and gains."

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, Comrade K.S. Demirchyan warmly congratulated the workers and all the people of the republic on the occasion of the great Victory celebration, and wished them happiness, health, and labor successes; and he assured the CPSU Central Committee that the workers of Soviet Armenia will continue to struggle selflessly to put into effect the majestic plans of its native party; that they will make their fitting contribution to strengthening the economic and defense capability of the Socialist Motherland. (Comrade K.S. Demirchyan's speech was received with great attention, and was frequently interrupted by thunderous applause.)

The festive gathering dedicated to the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945, was declared closed.

The State Hymn of the Union of SSR and the Armenian SSR once again resounded majestically in the hall.

A great holiday concert was presented to those taking part in the festive gathering, in conclusion.

9006  
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REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN CP CC PLENUM HELD MAY 17

Plenum Information Report

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 18 May 85 p 1

[Text] The 19th Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee was held on 17 May.

The plenum discussed the question "The Results of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization in Carrying Out the Decisions of the Plenum and in Worthily Greeting the 27th CPSU Congress." P. P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, presented a report on this question.

V. K. Mikuchauskas, first secretary of the Vilnius Gorkom of the Lithuanian Communist Party; P. I. Stashkunas, chairman of the Kaunas Gorispolkom of the Council of People's Deputies; E. V. Blazhyavichyute, first secretary of the Moletskiy Raykom of the Lithuanian Communist Party; T. N. Barnov, a fitter in the Zarasayskiy Rayon Sel'khoztekhnika Production Association; V. Yu. Tvaryienas, first secretary of the Utenskiy Raykom of the Lithuanian Communist Party; A. B. Chuplinskas, general director of the Sigma Production Association; B. A. Zaykauskas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's Gosplan; R. P. Baskakova, a pediatrician in the children's polyclinic of the Shyaulyayskiy republic hospital; I. I. Dromantas, rector of the Lithuanian Agricultural Academy; S. P. Yasyunas, minister of the construction materials industry of the Lithuanian SSR; and S. S. Tamoshyunas, first secretary of the Kupishkiy Raykom of the Lithuanian Communist Party, spoke during the debates.

The plenum adopted a decree on the question discussed.

The plenum adopted a decree on convening the next 19th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The decree is being published in the press.

The plenum confirmed A. M. Virshulis as editor-in-chief of the magazine KOMMUNIST, freeing G. O. Zimanas from these duties in connection with his retirement.

Ye. S. Stroyev, a responsible worker on the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the plenum's work.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum finished its work with this.

#### Grishkyavichus Plenum Speech

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 18 May 85 pp 1-3

[Speech by P. P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which was held on 23 April, examined the question of convening the next 27th party congress. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, presented a clear and interesting report to the plenum. The report provided a thorough analysis of the present domestic and international situation and defined the party's and country's tasks that are connected with preparing for and conducting the congress. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Buro proposes convening the next 19th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress on 24 January 1986.

It proposes including the following questions on the congress agenda:

1. The report of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.
2. The report of the Lithuanian Communist Party Auditing Commission.
3. The CPSU Central Committee draft for the 27th party congress "On the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR During 1986-1990 and for the Future out to the Year 2000."
4. The elections of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of the Lithuanian Communist party and of delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress.

During the 19th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, it is proposed to elect one delegate per 210 party members. Approximately 945 delegates will be elected to the congress with such a representation norm. This will permit all city and rayon organizations to be sufficiently fully represented and the social and national composition of the Lithuanian Communist Party to be reflected in the required manner. It is necessary to select delegates to the congress at the city and rayon party congresses in compliance with party rules and the requirements of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Delegates from the party organizations of the cities of Vilnius and Kaunas will be selected at the rayon party conferences of these cities.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee is steadfastly following a policy of increasing the militancy and effectiveness of primary workshop party

organization and party group work. The duty of party committees, as the decisions of the April Plenum require, is to see to it that the meetings to hear reports and elect officials take place in them in a business like manner and in an atmosphere of Leninist principles and frankness. One must eliminate any excessive painting of successes and idle talk and concentrate on a critical analysis of the state of affairs, paying special attention to unsolved questions.

Comrades! Important party and government documents on the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism are being published today. A great deal of persistent work, to which we must attach a truly mass and national character, create in each collective a situation of intolerance toward lovers of alcohol and take the most resolute influence measures regarding them, faces us.

It is necessary to hold collective leaders more strictly responsible and increase their personal responsibility for the state of discipline and the moral and psychological climate among the workers. It is especially intolerable when leaders, primarily mid-level ones, excuse a lack of discipline among the workers or simply shield them for the sake of an outward well-being in their collectives. Cases of distracting workers from production to participate in various mass measures and tourist trips at the expense of work time have still not been completely eliminated. It is necessary to put an end to such wastefulness.

A key question during the reporting and election campaign is the selection of people who will work in the leading party bodies. In toto, more than 48,000 communists, that is, almost a fourth of the Lithuanian Communist Party, must be elected to leading bodies during the reports and elections. The promotion of the most politically mature and competent party members, who possess organizational abilities and high moral qualities, to the leadership must be insured during this.

One of the most urgent questions is a further improvement in the style and methods of party leadership. This problem was also discussed recently during a plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. It is necessary to say, however, that increasing efficiency and results, decreasing the stream of paper and overcoming a bureaucratic style of work and the desire to solve many questions by conducting meetings are not taking place as quickly as required. The coordination of control work at all levels has still not been organized in the necessary manner. Auditors and inspectors, who are being replaced one after the other, distract the directors and workers from their vital task, introduce irritability into work and, in the final analysis, often inflict only damage instead of benefit. It is necessary to put an end to this.

The further strengthening of party leadership of soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, and other links in our political system is an important task of the reporting and election campaign.

It is no secret that unfavorable trends, difficulties, deficiencies, and omissions exist in the republic's economy. Planning, soviet and economic bodies do not always take changes in production development conditions and population demands and the need to accelerate the intensification of the economy and the reforms in management methods into consideration in a timely manner and in the required way. They do not always demonstrate persistence in carrying out planned measures. As a result, quite a few reserves for developing the republic's economy remain unused, and not all branches and work collectives are marching in step with the tasks of the five-year plan.

During the time remaining until the congress, we must think thoroughly and self-critically about the situation that has taken shape in the economy, draw very serious conclusions, develop bold solutions, and take effective steps to accelerate social and economic development and to successfully complete the five-year plan.

Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, defined with complete clarity during the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum constructive ways to substantially accelerate economic development in the future. One can obtain a comparatively rapid return if organizational, economic and social reserves -- particularly the stirring up of the human factor -- are put into operation. We must see to it that each one observes discipline at his position and works conscientiously and with a full return.

The main indicator of discipline and responsibility is the fulfillment of the state plan. Generally speaking, the republic's industry has fulfilled the plans for the production and sale of commodity output for the four months. Compared with the same period of last year, production volume increased by 3.4 percent, and labor productivity grew by 2.9 percent when the planned growth indicators were 2.8 and 2.4 percent, respectively. However, the fulfillment of contract obligations for deliveries was only 99.3 percent.

It is necessary to say right out that the current year did not begin satisfactorily everywhere. Eight industrial enterprises did not fulfill the plan for the sale of products during the four months. The Litrybprom and Zapremrybflot Production Associations and the Azot Ionava Production Association lagged behind the most.

The worsening of contract discipline evokes alarm. During January-April, 24 enterprises did not fulfill their obligations for delivering products, falling short by 22 million rubles. The Ministry of the Furniture and Wood Processing Industry, Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of Local Industry, enterprises of union subordination -- the Litbytkhim Association and the Sirius and Vayras Plants-- and several others were in arrears. A significant amount of mineral fertilizers, artificial fibers, wood particle board, woolen cloth, tape recorders, bicycles, and fish products were not delivered to consumers.

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum required that exactingness and responsibility for the fulfillment of contract obligations without any abatements for objective conditions be raised.



A strained situation is being maintained in some branches regarding the fulfillment of tasks to decrease the cost of products and material expenditures for production. Losses from waste and non-productive expenditures in industry continue to be significant. Individual enterprises deliver low quality products to the trade network. These must subsequently be returned for repairs or transferred to a lower variety.

Party gorkoms and raykoms, ministries and departments must hold directors strictly responsible for fulfilling state plans and for order and organization at each work site. This primarily pertains to enterprises in the food, furniture and wood processing industries and to construction organizations. All efforts should now be aimed at making up in the very near future that which has been omitted. The 1985 plan should be fulfilled by all collectives and without any adjustments. This requirement fully pertains also to that sum of 48 million rubles by which the plans were adjusted in the direction of a decrease during the first quarter. The shortfall must be unconditionally overcome. Every economic director must firmly learn this.

Another reserve which the CPSU Central Committee Plenum required to be decisively taken up -- is the struggle against waste and losses. There is good experience in the republic's national economy concerning a zealous attitude toward the use of material resources. During the first four years of the five-year plan, 89,000 tons of ferrous metal rolled products, 100,000 tons of cement, 440,000 tons of standard boiler and stove fuel, 1.36 billion kilowatt hours of electricity, and many other resources were saved.

However, we have still not seen to it that a state approach to the task of economy and thrift has been assured in each production sector. The tasks and obligations for saving fuel and energy resources in the enterprises of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the Main Production Administration for Energy and Electrification, the Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways, the Ministry of the Furniture and Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, and several others are not being fulfilled. In a number of enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, cases of shortages, embezzlement and spoilage of commodity material valuables are still being encountered. Many violations of financial discipline are being committed in the institutions of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture; in the enterprises of housing and communal services, rural and fruit and vegetable organizations; and in construction organizations.

We have managed to correct the state of affairs in capital construction to a certain degree. The full assimilation of the capital investment limit, which was established for the five-year plan, and the fulfillment of the planned volume of construction and assembly work are expected.

Even in construction, however, a number of deficiencies continue to exist. First of all, there is the violation of planning discipline. The Ministry of Construction annually fails to fulfill the planning quotas for the construction of motor vehicle transport, scientific, communal services, cultural, and

other projects. The Ministry of Rural Construction is carrying out the construction of agro-industrial complex projects at insufficient rates. The construction of the Kayshyadoris Hydroelectric Pumped Storage Power Plant and of a number of projects, whose commissioning was stipulated for this year, is lagging behind.

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out in particular the impermissibility of stretching out construction periods and the ineffective use of equipment. Unfortunately, such cases still exist in our republic. The completion periods for reconstructing the Neris Sel'khoz mashin and Vayras Bicycle Motor plants have been shoved aside by three-five years through the fault of the union ministries and contractors. The periods for handing over a number of other projects have also been pushed back several times.

It is necessary to resolutely increase the demands on specific persons for discipline and order at each enterprise, construction site, kolkhoz, sovkhos, and organization. One cannot talk about any rational management or growth in the economy's effectiveness without this.

As the main strategic lever for intensifying the national economy, the party proposes a radical acceleration in scientific and technical progress.

The complex program for a 20-year period of scientific and technical progress, which has been developed in the republic, is contributing to the formation of a scientific and technical policy for the long term. The problem is to implement it in a disciplined manner.

It is necessary to admit, however, that it is being fulfilled listlessly and is not having the expected influence on intensifying public production. During the years of the five-year plan that have passed, the expenditures to free one worker in industry have grown almost twofold, and the economic effect per ruble of these expenditures has decreased twofold. The goals for incorporating scientific and technical achievements by the enterprises of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, and Ministry of Rural Construction are not being completely fulfilled. There are quite a few cases where the reconstruction and technical re-equipping of enterprises are not being conducted in an integrated manner and obsolete solutions are being used. This leads to their low effectiveness. The replacement of obsolescent and physically obsolete equipment with newer and more productive equipment is taking place intolerably slowly at many enterprises.

In connection with this, it is important to point out in particular the importance of engineer production support and the more effective use of the specialists' creative potential. The stimulus of creative initiative, which is aimed at improving technology, incorporating new equipment and rationally using all types of resources, must proceed first of all from them.

Unfortunately, some specialists are not working at improving their theoretical level, are trying to live with old baggage, and do not demonstrate the necessary influence on the state of affairs. The ministries and departments are displaying sluggishness in these matters. The chief engineers at many enterprises have been transformed into administrators who are overloaded with solving general economic questions. We must seriously improve the role of the chief engineers and specialists and free them from performing functions that are not peculiar to them.

During the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the problem of increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods was again singled out among the primary tasks in raising the people's prosperity. During the four years of the five-year plan, the production of consumer goods (group "B") increased by 19.6 percent in the republic, and that of cultural, welfare and household goods -- by 31.6 percent. This exceeds the growth rate established for this period. During the current year, 66 million rubles of them have already been produced above the plan.

Nevertheless, there are many unsolved problems here -- especially in the matter of increasing the quality and expanding the variety of goods. During the first quarter, trade organizations transferred to a lower sort and returned for repairs approximately eight percent of the footwear and quite a bit of the knitted and sewn items, silk cloth, televisions, and tape recorders.

Buyers now need not goods, generally speaking, but various items of high quality that are made well and with good taste. However, it is these types of goods that we lack. There is a shortage of pretty shoes, smart-looking sewn items, modern everyday equipment, and cultural, welfare and household goods. According to the Ministry of Light Industry, the output of especially fashionable goods, which are being sold for contracted prices, is less than one percent of the overall production volume.

As before, trade is having a poor effect on industry. Making use of this, some industrial enterprises are continuing to produce items of low quality that do not enjoy demand among the population. The type and quality of mass produced goods still sharply differ from the models that are shown at exhibitions and fairs.

The development of a complex program for expanding the production of consumer goods and the service area out to the year 2000 will be completed in the near future. Its realization will require a search for additional reserves and a new approach to planning and managing the output of consumer items. It is necessary to reexamine the existing organizational system for the production of consumer goods and to strengthen the role and responsibility of the republic's Gosplan in coordinating the activity of the separate ministries, departments and union-subordinated enterprises in this area. It would evidently be correct to allot a separate section in the 12th Five-Year Plan to the production of consumer goods when drawing up the plans for the economic and social development of the cities, rayons, individual branches, and work collectives, providing for the production of these items expressed both in costs and in variety.

A concern for the Soviet people's health is acquiring more and more significance in the party's social policy. During the four years of the five-year plan alone, 16 polyclinics, 30 rural dispensaries and 13 hospitals were commissioned in the republic.

Along with this, the volume and quality of medical help to the population and the population's provision with medicines still do not satisfy requirements. The organization of stomatological help and the training, distribution and attachment to places of medical personnel require further improvement. As before, increasing concern for the health of Great Patriotic War veterans, mothers, children, and juveniles remains urgent. We are faced with solving large tasks in expanding the network of rural dispensaries and plant polyclinics and with carrying out complex measures to lower the morbidity rate of workers in the national economy.

The party will undeviatingly continue the policy of further expanding and improving the Soviet people's social security. It is necessary to strengthen the concern for work veterans, especially those who have already been on a deserved rest for a long time. It is necessary to involve retirees in public and work activity on a broader basis. These questions must be primarily resolved better on the spot--in work collectives.

We are faced with solving large tasks in the service area whose proportion of national consumption still remains insufficient. That is why the population's everyday services must receive priority development in the coming five-year plan.

In preparing for its next congress, the party is attaching significant importance to the realization of the Food Program.

The main and urgent task is to mobilize efforts as much as possible in order to successfully complete the final year and the five-year plan for all production, economic and social positions in the development of the agro-industrial complex.

In order to reduce to a minimum the negative consequences of delayed sowing, it is necessary to organize the care of the crops, their feeding and protection against weeds, pests, and disease especially carefully and to do everything to avoid losses of the crops during harvesting. Keeping in mind that the plans for the four years of the five-year plan for the production of grain have not been fulfilled, special attention must be paid to the grain economy.

The thorough strengthening and qualitative improvement of the fodder base remain a central task for the future.

In order to insure the further successful development of fodder production, Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences, ministries and departments, which are included in the agro-industrial complex, have been commissioned to develop a complex Fodder Program for the 12th Five-Year Plan and for the period out to the year 2000.

As is known, positive changes for the better in the development of animal husbandry, which have been preserved this year, have been defined during recent years. The first quarter plans for the sale of all types of animal husbandry products to the state have been fulfilled. Cattle productivity and the other indicators of the intensification of production and product quality have continued to grow. In the organization of the cattle's wintering on some farms, however, shortcomings and omissions were still tolerated and the necessary effort and control by rayon party, soviet and economic bodies were lacking.

In connection with the delay in the beginning of the pasture period, milk production requires special attention. At the present time, the daily milk yield from a cow is lower than last year's on many farms.

The status of animal reproduction evokes serious concern in several rayons.

It is necessary to demonstrate more concern for the reproduction of the dairy herd and to achieve a radical improvement in the rearing of pedigree calves, increasing their productivity and maintaining highly productive cows.

Special attention must be paid to further strengthening savings and decreasing labor, material and other production expenditures mainly by incorporating cost accounting methods for organizing production and people's labor. Unfortunately, despite the undoubted advantages, the collective contract and intra-farm accounting on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in some rayons are being disseminated slowly, as before. Here and there, concrete organizational work is being replaced by general appeals and a formal approach to organizing contract collectives is being tolerated. It is necessary to put an end to such an attitude toward the task.

Party organizations are faced with the task of expanding the mass socialist competition in honor of the coming congress of the Leninist party. It is necessary to direct the efforts of the competitors toward fulfilling and overfulfilling the plans and socialist obligations of the final year and of the five-year plan in general.

There is every basis for assigning ourselves the task of fulfilling the goals of the five-year plan regarding growth rates of production and labor productivity in the republic's industry ahead of time -- in October 1985 instead of 7 November as stipulated by the earlier adopted socialist obligations; and producing 140 million rubles (in retail prices) of consumer goods above the annual plan increasing their production during the five-year plan by 22 percent instead of the planned 19 percent. It is necessary to direct efforts in agriculture toward fulfilling the five-year plan for state purchases of grain, sugarbeets, potatoes, flax fiber, fruits, and berries by the 68th anniversary of Great October; and fulfilling the five-year plan for purchases of milk and eggs by 1 October and the annual plan for purchases of meat and poultry -- by 10 December.

In general, we can and must see to it that no less than 1.7 billion rubles of national income are produced above the five-year plan and that public labor productivity in the republic's national economy increases by 22 percent instead of the 16 percent in the five-year plan.

The achieving of this is the duty and a matter of honor for communists, Komsomol members and all workers in the republic.

All of the political, indoctrinational and ideological activity of the party must be subordinated to solving the task of accelerating social and economic development.

It is necessary to mention, however, that the serious criticism, which was addressed to ideological institutions and departments and party bodies during the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, also fully pertains to our party organization. The main shortcoming is that the link between propaganda and life is still weak, there is formalism and didactics, and the inability to speak with people using the language of truth. Part of the leading workers in the republic's ministries and departments still display an unwillingness to participate in common political days and to use other meetings with the workers for political work.

A very important place in the party's ideological activity belongs to the mass information and propaganda media. They have been called upon to analyze events and phenomena thoroughly, raise serious problems, suggest ways to solve them, and to be convincing by their pithiness, operational aspects and informational saturation. Unfortunately, the work of part of our editorial boards still lacks a systematic, thorough and critical analysis of the state of affairs in the republic's national economy and of the activity of ministries, departments and party gorkoms and raykoms. The editorial boards of newspapers and magazines -- the bodies of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee -- have been called upon to set an example of such work. Several editorial boards of the republic's television and radio must also catch up.

Magazines, especially LYAUTES UKIS, MOKSLAS IR TEKHNIKA and several others, must be closer to life and to the concrete problems that are being solved in the republic and in work collectives. The fact that part of the city, rayon and large-circulation newspapers waste their pages in treating questions, which are remote from local problems, is intolerable. Newspaper, magazine, television and radio articles must be much more actively and constructively supported by the ministries, departments, party gorkoms and raykoms, and soviet bodies. Unfortunately, cases of ignoring press criticism and deviating from a highly principled reaction to it still exist.

The creative intelligentsia and all of the republic's cultural workers have been called upon to link their activity with the acceleration of social and economic development. The creative unions and their party organizations must be actively concerned about improving ideological and indoctrinational work among artistic workers and strengthen their influence on the ideological tenor of their work. The problem of raising the ideological and artistic

level of art is primarily a problem of the scale of the artist's thinking and his ability to delve deeply, correctly investigate and objectively reflect the complicated and deep processes, which are occurring in our society, and the struggle between the old and the new and between the progressive and the obsolete.

Just as all Soviet people and all progressive mankind, the republic's workers have just solemnly celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory. We have already lived for 40 years under the conditions of peace. This has been primarily the result of the wise foreign policy of our party and the coordinated actions of the countries of the socialist commonwealth and of all peaceloving forces on earth. Our country has been and remains unwaveringly faithful to the sacred memory of the immortal exploit of the peoples who overcame fascism. Comrade M. S. Gorbachev pointed out during the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "The Communist Party and the Soviet government see the main meaning of their foreign policy activity to be the prevention of anything similar -- especially a nuclear catastrophe."

The reactionary imperialist circles, however, especially the Reagan administration-- ignoring the lessons of the Second World War-- are inventing ever newer pretexts for aggravating international tensions and anti-Soviet hysteria. The "Star Wars" plans, which have been announced by the Washington administration, present an especially threatening danger for the entire planet.

Our country is counterposing a constructive and realistic alternative to the adventuristic policy of the U.S. militarists and their closest allies-- a clear and accurate peace program. Controversial problems and conflict situations must be resolved by political means -- this is our conviction.

The ideological activity of imperialism has grown sharply recently. It has established an enormous propaganda machine and it is not squeamish about any type of highly sensitive means or subversive and psychological measures. Under these conditions, we must further improve and perfect our counter-propaganda work and raise its militancy. In widely publicizing the peaceloving foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, it is necessary to be consistent and persistent in unmasking the enemies of peace and progress and the danger of the aggressive anti-popular policy of the American administration for all countries and peoples.

The primary task now is to bring the decisions of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum to each communist and to each worker and to undertake their fulfillment without any hesitation. It is necessary to discuss the results of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum during the party gorkom and raykom plenums and in the primary party organizations. It is necessary to define specific tasks connected with the preparations for the reporting and election party meetings and conferences and with the realization of the statements and conclusions contained in the report of Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The times require active and strenuous work by all of our cadre, all communists and all workers.

Permit me to assure the CPSU Central Committee that the republic's party organization will multiply its efforts in the struggle to implement party plans, that it will expand active preparations for the 27th CPSU congress, and that it will greet it with new successes in the building of communism.

8802

CSO: 1800/312



REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN CP CC SESSION REPORTED

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 4 May 85 p 1

[Article in SOVETSKAYA LITVA: author not specified: "In the Lithuanian Communist Party CC Buro"]

[Text] In a regularly scheduled session, the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro examined the work of the party organization of the Lenin rayon of Vilnius on the economization of material and energy resources. In the resolution that was passed, it is noted that the party's raykom, the primary party organizations and the economic leaders of enterprises and organizations are systematically conducting a broad search for reserves in order to carry out the planned assignments with the least possible material expenditures. A complex program of industrial production intensification and long-range planning for political, organizational and technical measures were worked out and now are being brought to realization. The program and planning call for increasing efficiency in the use of ready-made and raw materials and fuel, introducing resource conserving techniques and technology and bringing into economic use waste products and secondary resources. Public showings and competitions are now taking place in economization and conservation. There is a widening movement for the opening of individual and collective accounts and for the creation of an economization superfund. The Council on Scientific and Technical Progress, which was created by the party's raykom, is conducting active work in this direction.

Progress in carrying out the assignments and the socialist obligations for the economization of material resources is being examined systematically at plenums and sessions of the party's raykom buro and rayispolkom, at meetings of those party members most active in the economy and in the primary party organizations. Consistent activity on the part of the party's raykom, the party organizations and the labor collectives has promoted both the excellent development of industrial production in relation to the increase of material expenditures and the reduction of production costs over and above planned reductions.

Having favorably evaluated the work of the party organization of the Lenin rayon of Vilnius, the Central Committee Buro recommended, henceforth, to improve activity on all levels of running the enterprises and organizations in light of the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and to direct this activity toward a more complete utilization of the reserves

of economic, material and fuel-energy resources. The party's gorkoms and raykoms, the ministries and governmental departments; the party organizations and the economic leaders consider the work on improving the use of these resources to be the most important goal of their activity.

The party's gorkoms and raykoms were put in charge of the following: the constant improvement of the style and methodology of leadership in the primary party organizations; increasing enthusiasm in determining the rational management of the economy; the wider study, synthesis and expansion of the progressive experience, securing publicity, up-to-date maintenance of the results of socialist competition and the better utilization of material and moral encouragement of the labor collectives and workers that have attained high final results.

At the session a resolution also was passed for strengthening the organizations' work on the long term introduction of a collective contracting organization in the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses. It was noted in the resolution that work is being done in the republic directed at the successful fulfillment of assignments in the Production Program and at the transfer of agriculture to an intensive course of development. It also was noted that the collective contracting organization is the key economic factor of this development.

The Central Committee Buro pledged the services of the appropriate ministries and governmental departments, the party's gorkoms and rural raykoms in the following areas: taking decisive steps to eliminate deficiencies in installing the collective contracting organization; activating in every possible way the work of the organizations; increasing the responsibility of the economy's leaders and specialists in order to realize this most important goal; fighting formalism and strengthening the party's direct influence in the labor collectives. In correspondence with the demands of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the collective contracting organization and economic calculations are to become a powerful instrument for increasing the intensity and effectiveness of agricultural production.

The Lithuanian CP Central Committee and Council of Ministers also passed a resolution which envisages a series of steps toward developing facilities for the repair and construction of living quarters and buildings for horticultural societies and of garages and other structures as ordered by the population from 1986 to 1990 and continuing through the period up to the year 2000.

At the session a series of questions connected with the socio-political and cultural life of the republic was also examined.

12882

CSO: 1800/288

REGIONAL

LATVIAN CP CC PLENUM HELD MAY 18

Plenum Information Sheet

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 19 May 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Information Notice Concerning the Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee was held in Riga on 18 May.

The plenum discussed the question "Results of the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization for Fulfilling the Decisions of the Plenum and Welcoming the 27th Congress of the CPSU in a Worthy Fashion."

First Secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee B. K. Pugo presented a report.

Participating in the discussions of the report were First Secretary of the Riga gorkom of the Latvian CP Ya. Ya. Vagris, First Secretary of the Yelgav raykom of the Latvian CP Ya. A. Kaleys, First Secretary of the Rezeknen gorkom of the Latvian CP N. I. Gusev, traffic-controller of the Riga Production Association VEF [expansion unknown] imeni V. I. Lenin Hero of Socialist Labor G. M. Grinev, First Deputy Chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers R. V. Praude, President of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences B. A. Purin, Chairman of the Red October kolkhoz of Preylskiy rayon Hero of Socialist Labor R. V. Kavinskiy, General Director of the Riga Kommutator Production Association Ya. Ya. Okherin, and Chairman of the Latvian Kolkhoz Construction Administration O. Ya. Karklin'.

The plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee adopted a detailed decree on the question under discussion. The plenum also adopted a decree on convening the scheduled 24th Congress of the Latvian CP which will be published.

The plenum reviewed organizational questions.

The plenum elected K. I. Nyukshu to be a member of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro. The plenum relieved A. E. Ikauniyeka of his duties as a member of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro.

The plenum approved N. Yu. Usinya as Chief of the Latvian CP Administrative Organs Department, and A. Ya. Grudulsa as Chief of the Latvian CP Science and Educational Institutions Department.

Participating in the work of the plenum were First Deputy Chief of the CPSU Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department L. F. Bobykin, and Section Chief of the CPSU Agriculture and Food Industry Department M. S. Khozyainov.

#### Pugo Plenum Speech

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 19 May 85 pp 1-2

[Speech by B. K. Pugo: "More Efficiency, Responsibility, Initiative"]

[Excerpts] Today at the plenum we must self-critically and thoroughly analyze the results of work undertaken after the 26th CPSU Congress, summarize and adopt the best experience gained in that work, and define ways and means of greater accelerated movement ahead.

In turning to the economic results, one can say that they are not bad as a whole.

However, if one evaluates those results from the viewpoint of the high-level demands of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and in fact the manner in which we must proceed, the speaker emphasized, then there are not and there cannot be any grounds for complacency. The shortcomings and unutilized potential in the development of the national economy as noted at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, do exist in our republic as well.

We have fallen behind the Five-Year Plan assignments in several sectors of our industry, in a number of construction organizations, and in commerce.

As was previously the case, the situation regarding contractual discipline is alarming. The January - April plan for produce sales, including delivery obligations, was fulfilled at a level of 99.5 percent. A half percent of underfulfilment means that 63 enterprises failed to deliver their products. The greatest number of such enterprises is concentrated in the city of Ventspils, the Stuchkinskiy, Ventspilsskiy, Balvskiy, Rezeknenskiy, Tsesisskiy, and Rizhskiy rayons, in the Ministry of the Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of Construction Materials, and the

Ministry of the Forestry and Timber Industry. The reasons for these failures are primarily due to the fact that many industry directors have not drawn the proper conclusions emanating from the Party's demands for the strictest possible adherence to delivery discipline. Those directors are not conducting this work consistently and fail to exact the necessary requirements from personnel. We can identify here who is to be accountable and who can answer.

Today the Buro of the Latvian CP Central Committee once again calls the attention of directors at ministries and departments, gorkoms and raykoms of the Party, and primary Party organizations to the fact that they bear full responsibility for the timely and qualitative delivery of raw materials, fuel, assembly units, and rail cars, and for the absolute fulfillment of contract obligations.

One must particularly emphasize the need to place higher demands upon those who, in creating an appearance of well-being, resort to making downward adjustments of plans. We know that such adjustments have long since been condemned by the Party. However, unfortunately, they are being made. In the first quarter of this year alone, annual production sale plans were reduced by such adjustments in the light and food industry, in the Radiotekhnika and REZ [Riga Electrical Machinery Plant] associations, and the Olain Plastics Processing Plant, and a number of other enterprises.

The city and rayon Party committees, the soviet and managerial organs must thoroughly analyze each case of delivery disruption and plan adjustment, pay closer attention to personnel who are lagging behind as well as to middle-level enterprises and organizations which should be assisted in eliminating lagging so that the plans and socialist pledges of the current year and those of the Five-Year Plan as a whole can be completed successfully.

As was noted at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the task of accelerating the pace of economic development necessitates that the intensification of economics, an acceleration of scientific-technical progress, a restructuring of administration and planning together with a higher level of organization and discipline and a radical improvement in the style of our operations must be at the center of all of our work.

A comparatively rapid yield can be obtained by activating organizational-economic and social resources, particularly the human factor, in order to reach a point where each person is working at his place conscientiously and at full efficiency. The VEF association which is operating smoothly and confidently, is a good example of just how great the

potential is. During the current Five-Year Plan it increased its production by 67 percent and completed ahead of schedule its five-year plan for production and productivity increases. One quarter of the total increment there was obtained by activating the human factor, i.e. by strict observance of discipline and order, greater human initiative, timely certification of work sites, etc. There are similar reserves at each of our enterprises and construction sites and in each kolkhoz and sovkhoz.

Another reserve which should be decisively taken on in accordance with the directives of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is the struggle against waste and losses. There is much equipment in the republic which is either idle or is not being used to full capacity. Its use of capacity has stopped growing for a long time now. It has frozen at a level of 1.4.

The Party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary Party organizations must improve this situation and obtain a maximum and highly efficient utilization of equipment everywhere.

In speaking about capital construction, the speaker noted that an excessively long time is being taken to build many facilities. The Ministry of Construction and the client organizations have been expanding the Valmiyer Meat Combine for more than 8 years. The mechanics-foundry plant in Yekabpils has been under construction for 6 years, the Central Finishing Plant of the Rigas Tekstils Association and a number of other facilities have been under construction for more than 4 years. These are far in excess of standard construction times. Considerable material goods are becoming immobilized at these and many other construction sites which have not been completed on time. Consequently, increased machinery capacity is delayed and necessary goods are not produced on time. A considerable amount of uninstalled equipment has accumulated at warehouses of enterprises and new construction sites. Direct losses of material goods due to carelessness in hauling, storage, and delivery have been considerable.

A number of CPSU Central Committee and governmental decrees were recently adopted that were aimed at improvements in the planning, organization, and management of capital construction, improvements in the wage system and planning estimates. Therefore the practical implementation of these measures is task of utmost importance to the republic's Gosplan, Gosstroy, construction ministries and departments, city and rayon committees of the Party, gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms. More concern must be given to the development of production machinery of construction-installation organizations and enterprises that produce industrial construction materials, and better use must be made of experience gained by our

neighbors -- Belorussia, Lithuania, and Estonia -- in the industrialization and quality improvement of construction.

The report further noted that in all sectors of our economy more attention should be given to activating organizational and mass-political work aimed at the economic and efficient use of fuel, raw materials, materials, and electrical energy. There are still many unused reserves in this sector.

In accordance with our socialist pledges in 1985, we are scheduled to work everywhere in the republic for two days on economized materials, raw materials, and fuel. But what kind of universal fulfillment of this obligation can there be if many ministries and enterprises do not have the means to provide even one day's work on economized resources?

The Party committees are obligated to deal with this situation without delay and take all the measures that are necessary to correct the situation radically.

In general, we must put an immediate end to all kinds of wastefulness, mismanagement, and sloppiness. As was emphasized at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it is essential to place higher demands on specific persons, including legal demands, for the preservation and correct use of all material goods and for intensified economical and prudent operations.

The speaker continued that, as was emphasized at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the Party places top priority on the acceleration of scientific-technical progress as a principal strategic lever for intensifying production and making better use of the accumulated potential. This question was already discussed at a meeting of the republic's Party aktiv in October of last year. The implementation of the measures worked out following the meeting of the Party aktiv somewhat stimulated work in scientific-technical progress. However, a radical breakthrough did not occur. In most sectors, as in previous times, scientific-technical progress has been proceeding weakly, essentially in an evolutionary fashion, primarily through the improvement of existing technology and partial modernization of machinery and equipment. Of course, these measures do yield some results, but they are too little.

What we need today, in the words of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, are truly revolutionary changes -- a transition to fundamentally new technological systems and the techniques of the latest generations which will yield the greatest effectiveness. This means essentially a retooling of all the sectors of the national economy that is based on

modern scientific and technological achievements. The urgency of the problem for the republic's industry is dictated by the fact that our machinery and machine tools are essentially outdated. The percentage of worn out equipment, particularly at enterprises of the construction industry, the light industry, and the wood processing industry is high. At the same time only one-third of new equipment is used to replace outdated equipment. The rest is used to increase production machine capacity. It is necessary to reconstruct effectively existing enterprises and retool them on a new technological base, and accelerate by all possible means comprehensive automation of production processes, particularly auxiliary processes. The rate at which mechanization and automation methods and industrial robots are being introduced is in serious need of acceleration.

In order to resolve all of these problems we must find new forms of joining science and industry more effectively, to manage more effectively industrial scientific-research, design-planning, and technological-planning organizations so that their efforts are maximally subordinated to the goal of rapidly introducing the achievements of scientific and technological progress. The experience of the VEF associations, the Kommutator association, the Daugavpils Drive-Chain Plant, and other advanced enterprises deserve universal support and propagation. Those enterprises are making on their own means flexible automated systems, robot engineering systems, and are technically retooling production at an accelerated pace. Finally, it is essential to raise markedly the personal responsibility of ministers, their deputies, officials of ministries and departments, supervisors and specialists at associations and enterprises for the fulfillment of assignments related to new technology.

Last year the republic did not fulfill a number of important plans designed to develop science and technology technological plans. There were no significant shifts during the current year as well. Significant lagging was noted in the Ministry of the Forestry and Lumber Industry, the Ministry of Construction Materials, the Ministry of the Food Industry, the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, and the State Committee for Sel'khoztekhnika. Party organizations must not tolerate the underfulfillment of plans related to new technology, and they must make sure that those plans include truly new technology, and not merely yesterday's "nuances" as often happens to be the case.

It is necessary to place higher demands upon plant directors for the realization of measures designed for integral comprehensive programs, many of which are being disrupted. For example, last year almost one out of four enterprises of the republic did not fulfill established assignments stipulated in the program for reducing the use of manual labor. A



particularly large number of such enterprises are in the Ministry of Construction Materials, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Food Industry, and the Ministry of Construction.

The April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee underscored the need for a decisive improvement in the quality of produced goods that is inseparable from an acceleration in scientific-technological progress and a growth in production efficiency. During the years of the Five-Year Plan, quite a lot has been done to improve the quality, reliability, and durability of industrial goods. This has made it possible to bring the proportion of highest grade quality goods among certifiable items up to 57 percent.

At the same time, the rate at which the quality of products has been increasing, especially consumer goods, still does not fully satisfy the growing requirements of the public. In the light of the tasks decreed by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, decisive measures must be taken to eliminate existing shortcomings and to eradicate completely any kind of design, manufacturing, or other type of unfinished work in the process of setting up the production of new items. Such shortcomings were particularly allowed to take place recently at the Riga Rail Car Construction Plant (Director A. N. Zinchenko, Chief Engineer V. A. Savin). The new ER-2R electric trains recently released from that plant were removed from service because of gross mechanical defects. By the same token, the economy was seriously harmed, and the reputation of the Latvian label was marred. The persons guilty of such flagrant irresponsibility have been severely punished by Party and disciplinary measures. The Party organization of the plant and the plant supervisors must take immediate steps to eliminate the incurred shortcomings and to improve drastically the quality of the electric trains manufactured there. Our most important task is to focus greater attention on the the development of the brigade form of labor organization and wages, and particularly on the comprehensive and continuously operating brigades that operate on a cost accounting and are paid according to the end results. This represents an enormous reserve and should be put into operation more rapidly.

The Plenum named the realization of the Food Program as one of the urgent tasks that requires particular attention. During the last two years notable shifts have taken place in the development of agriculture, and food supplies to the public have improved. During that time the gross agricultural product increased by 14 percent. The present wintering of cattle has yielded a significant addition to livestock production. Meat production was six percent greater and dairy production was 11 percent greater than the previous wintering. This has made it possible to

compensate somewhat for the indebtedness which was incurred during the first years of the Five-Year Plan. But the present rate of meat and dairy production growth is insufficient to make up fully for the earlier shortages. This means that the rate of increase must be accelerated. Our kolkhozes and sovkhoses and processing enterprises have the potential to increase significantly the production of foodstuffs. That potential must be managed efficiently, and the available potential must be effectively utilized.

This year special concern must be given to raising the quality of seasonal operations. The late development of spring processes and frequent rainfall have more than once forced us to adjust the original work plans that were compiled in the farms and rayons. Our sowing is taking place later, and the pasturing period for livestock breeding was late. However this should in no way affect the level of the harvest or cattle productivity.

In this connection, the speaker dwelt in detail on a complex of supplementing agronomic measures and operations which might raise the harvest level of all crops.

The question of questions for the republic's agriculture is forage. This year we are obligated to conduct all of our grass forage procurement operations more intensively and in a better organized way than was done in previous years, since the time between the spring sowing and the harvesting of crops has been significantly shortened. Builders must put all forage storage bins, as called for in the nine-month plan, into operation by the beginning of the forage procurement. The State Committee for Sel'khoztekhnika is obligated to be better concerned than it was in previous years about the delivery of blowers and parts for harvesting machinery. The agronomy service should supply the farms with preservatives in a timely fashion. It is also important to realize the program for the construction and reconstruction of forage shops and feed preparation plants, as approved by the 9th Plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee. One cannot consider the course of that program's implementation to be normal. In the years 1983-1984 28 feed plants were not put into operation. This year Gosplan and the Ministry of Agriculture plan to operate only 52 feed plants of the 92 that were slated by the plan. Moreover, the construction of feed plants is not even planned for some rayons. The departments of the Central Committee, and republic's Council of Ministers, and the Party raykoms and rayispolkoms must correct the situation in this important sector so that literally each kilogram of procured forage will be fed in the prepared form.

The process of livestock intensification must be more effectively accelerated.

In order to fulfill this specific task, one must first of all, as is demanded by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, establish appropriate order in each farm, restructure the operation of supervisors and farm specialists, intensify their responsibility for the tasks assigned to them, and supplement their professional skills.

The collective contract and cost accounting applications take on exceptionally great significance in the complex of measures that are aimed at further increases in the intensification of agricultural production. The management of the agro-industrial complex requires further improvement. The Council of Ministers, Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences, and the republic's ministries and departments must continue their work on improving the economic, administrative, and legal connections between the APK [agro-industrial complex] partners by achieving a better coordinated resolution of the comprehensive development of agriculture and its allied sectors.

The problem of the subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises is associated with the fulfillment of the Food Program. Six ministries, three departments, and 32 associations and enterprises under national jurisdiction were obligated to create such farms by the end of the Five-Year Plan by a decree of the Bureau of the Latvian CP Central Committee. A recent examination of the state of affairs of this operation at the Secretariat's office of the Latvian CP Central Committee showed that far from everything has been done.

Our overall task is to activate all reserves in order to increase food production both in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in auxiliary [private] farms of enterprises and citizens.

The report emphasized that in the light of the directives of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee much remains to be done to satisfy more fully the demand for the industrial goods and services, for better quality and a wider assortment of goods. The solution of those problems is the object of the All-Union Comprehensive Program for the Development of Consumer Goods Production and Services. Decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have already been adopted for some areas of the program. Those are concerned with an increase in footwear production, the development of local industry, housing construction and repair services, and improvements in public telephone services.

In accordance with a decision by the Buro of the Latvian CP Central Committee, a corresponding program has been worked out for the republic which calls for a 15.4 percent increase in the production of non-edible consumer goods during the period 1986-1990, and an increase by 1.4 times by the year 2000.

The production of cultural-domestic and household products will be developed at an accelerated rate. Along with quantitative indices, priority in the program will be given to improved product quality, the production of new types of products, including technically complex ones, and a significant expansion in the production of consumer goods that are in greater demand. The implementation of the slated measures will be assured primarily through the reconstruction of currently operating enterprises and more effective use of local raw materials and industrial waste.

The expansion of production and the improvement in the variety and quality of consumer goods is not only an economic, but a great political task as well. All industrial enterprises, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction, are obligated to participate actively in the resolution of that task.

With reference to the decisions of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, more attention should be given to the development of all areas of public services, and more consideration must be given to the shifts that are taking place in the structure of effective demand. Workers should be enabled to satisfy better their desire to use their income for improving their housing conditions, for recreation, tourism, and other purposes. Broader impetus should be given to the development of market-gardening societies. The public's need for construction materials and appliances and the construction of garden houses should be better satisfied. In this connection, a decisive rebuff must be dealt to those workers who abuse their official position, and a fundamental halt must be put to even the slightest attempts to use one's membership in garden cooperatives for profit, money-grubbing, or the construction of dachas.

In further noting that such areas as public health and education are becoming increasingly important in the life of society and each person, B. K. Pugo dwelt in detail on tasks related to their future development.

Particular mention was made of the mass information media at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The media must analyze events and phenomena more profoundly, take up serious problems and offer ways of resolving them, and be convincing by their substantive content, efficiency, and wealth of information.

The April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has laid the foundation of a special, most important stage in the life of the Party -- the pre-Congress accountability-election campaign. Its tasks essentially encompass all aspects of political, administrative, and ideological work. In accordance with the decree issued by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in September - November we shall be conducting meetings in the primary Party organizations, and in November - December, there will be the rayon and city Party conferences. The Central Committee Buro will present to the plenum for its approval a proposal to convene the next regular 24th Latvian CP Congress on 24 January 1986.

Communists and all the workers of the republic, as do all the Soviet people, warmly approve and support the measures outlined by the Party and Government to intensify drastically the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism.

B. K. Pugo noted the Party committees have recently become more business-like, better organized, and better planned in their activities. At the same time, a radical improvement has not yet taken place. Gorkoms and raykoms of the Party, Party committees and Party buros often move along at their own speed, indulge in the adoption of numerous decrees but poorly control their actual implementation. The city and rayon Party committees, the Party committees and Party buros must more fully assure a unity of organizational, political, and economic operations, and more energetically eliminate formalism, speechifying, and excessive paper work. They must proceed with the understanding that what is most important is not the holding of sessions or the adoption of numerous decrees, but the "ability to organize matters with practical efficiency." This Leninist requirement is the basis for the operations of Party committees, their apparatus, and the election aktiv.

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REGIONAL

SLYUN'KOV ADDRESSES MINSK ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 10 May 85 pp 3-4

[Speech by N. N. Slyun'kov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, on the occasion of Victory Day in the Minsk Palace of Sports]

[Excerpts] The 40th spring reigns peacefully in our land which has been illuminated by the inextinguishable light of the victory. The Soviet people, guided by Lenin's party, travelled 1,418 long days and nights to it in order to save not only their homeland but also all humanity from the brown plague of fascism.

No matter how much time separates us from the May days of victorious 1945, the exploit, which the Soviet people performed during the most painful and bloody of wars, appears more perceptible and majestic to us with each passing year. In celebrating the glorious anniversary of the victory today, we are again addressing the heroic events of the past in order to thoroughly understand their significance for the present and the future and in order to be more persistent in struggling for a peaceful life on the planet.

Filled with emotion and with the happy and proud feeling of victors, veterans, who forged victory at the fronts, in partisan detachments, in the underground, and in the rear area in fields and plants, arrived at the Palace of Sports on 8 May. The young continuers of their military and work traditions marched along with them. A festive meeting of representatives from Minsk's workers and the Minsk garrison's fighting men was held here. It was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory during the Great Patriotic War.

The unforgettable melodies of the war years -- songs about the motherland and the party and about the immortal exploit of the Soviet people -- sounded in the brightly illuminated hall of the palace.

The places on the presidium were occupied by Comrades N. N. Slyun'kov, I. Ye. Polyakov, V. I. Brovikov, G. G. Bartosh-evich, V. G. Baluyev, N. I. Dementey, M. V. Kovalev, Yu. B. Kolokolov, M. I. Lagir, V. A. Lepeshkin, A. A. Malofeyev, V. A. Mikulich, N. N. Polozov, Yu. M. Khusainov, and I. F. Yakushev. Here were the deputy chairmen of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers; managers of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee departments; Col Gen V. N. Shuralev, commander-in-chief of the Belorussian Military District forces; Lt Gen A. N. Kolinichenko, member of the Military Council and chief of the district's political directorate; Heroes of the Soviet Union; bearers of the Order of Glory; former commanders of military units and large units; leaders of the partisan movement and the communist underground; representatives of troop units that had received the name "Minsk"; leading industrial workers; and scientific and cultural figures.

G. S. Tarazevich, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Minsk Gorkom, opened the festive meeting. The national anthems of the USSR and the Belorussian SSR sounded.

An honorary presidium composed of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo was elected with great enthusiasm.

The orchestra plays a solemn march, everyone stands. The city's best people-- war veterans, representatives of the work guard, valiant fighting men, and young five-year plan shock workers carry into the hall the banner of the hero city of Minsk; the combat banners of the troop units; the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee which was awarded to the city for achieving high results during the All-Union Socialist Competition and for successfully fulfilling the 1984 State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR; the memorial Red Banner of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, and Belorussian Trade Unions Council, which was awarded to the city in honor of the 50th anniversary of Great October; and the memorial Red Banner of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, and Belorussian Trade Unions Council-- an award to the city to mark the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Belorussian SSR and the Belorussian Communist Party.

The banner bearers and assistants climbed onto the stage. An honor guard formed around the banners.

N. N. Slyun'kov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, was given the floor.

Dear Comrades!

Glorious veterans of the Great Patriotic War!

The great victory holiday is being celebrated in our hearts, our families, our cities and villages -- throughout the beautiful Soviet land. This holiday--marked by courage and heroism, achieved through much sorrow and crowned by happiness-- is a road without end for all the Soviet people and all of progressive humanity.

At this festive hour, the Central Committee of the Belorussian Party and the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR heartily and ardently congratulate all of her creators and all veterans of the Great Patriotic War, who displayed very high human and civil qualities during the grim time of trials, on the 40th anniversary of the glorious victory.

A deep bow to you, dear comrades and friends, our infinite love and boundless national gratitude!

We greet and congratulate the participants in the festive meeting from the bottom of our hearts on the 40th anniversary of the great victory, and in your name -- all the workers of Soviet Belorussia.

Comrades! The victory in the Great Patriotic War was prepared for by the entire preceding course of socialist development. The industrialization of the country, collectivization of agriculture, cultural revolution, and the wise and just solution of the nationality question transformed our motherland into a mighty power.

The victory of the first socialist state in the world confirmed the powerful and vital force of Marxism-Leninism. A deep ideological conviction and the boundless faith in communist ideals became an inexhaustible source of spiritual strength for the Soviet people who were models of unprecedented mass heroism for the entire world.

More than 20 million men fought under the banners of the armed forces. Approximately two million Soviet people poured into the ranks of the people's volunteer corps during the very first weeks of the war. More than 10 million citizens participated in the building of defensive structures. The struggle of the partisans and the underground in the enemy's rear acquired a mass nature.

The might and invincibility of the Soviet Armed Forces were important and noticeable in the struggle against the chosen hordes of world imperialism. Created on Leninist political and organizational principles and indoctrinated by the Communist Party, they destroyed the armies of Hitlerite Germany and



its satellites, which were armed to the teeth. We will always remember the unparalleled deeds of the defenders of the hero cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Volgograd, Kiev, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Tula, Minsk, Kerch, Smolensk, and Murmansk, and the hero fortress of Brest; and all of the participants in large and small military operations.

The superiority of Soviet military science and military art, the unmatched level of the strategic leadership and combat skill of our military leaders and the organizational talent of the entire galaxy of prominent Soviet generals, which was reared by the party, were fully demonstrated during the very fierce battles against a crafty enemy.

The enormous experience and glorious traditions of the Great Patriotic War heroes are a priceless treasure and serve the cause of training and indoctrinating skillful and staunch defenders of the homeland. In continuing and expanding these traditions, Soviet fighting men--the inheritors of the victory--vigilant guard the frontiers of our motherland and of the countries of the socialist commonwealth, they are sacredly performing their international duty, they are improving their military and political training, and they are raising the combat readiness of the USSR Armed Forces.

Rear area workers selflessly brought the day of victory closer. In plants and factories and in scientific laboratories and on kolkhoz cornfields, the Soviet people won the fantastically difficult battle for metal, bread, fuel, and raw materials and for the building of powerful Soviet weapons by their heroic work. They performed a work exploit without which our victories at the front would have been impossible.

On this festive day, we say: Heartfelt thanks to you, glorious rear area workers!

Soviet women displayed unprecedented steadfastness and military and work heroism. They took upon themselves the entire weight of the work at the machines, which made weapons, and in the fields and on the farms, where grain and other products were produced. They raised and reared children worthy of hero parents. There was no profession in the war which our mothers, wives and sisters did not master. They fought the enemy in the sky and on the ground.

Today, we again and again render glory and honor to women workers, women fighters, and women mothers!

The national intelligentsia demonstrated unwavering loyalty to socialist ideals during the war years. Scientists, engineers and designers worked tirelessly at designing new types of weapons and combat equipment. Literary and artistic figures took their place in the formation of motherland defenders. Their works, which were placed on the same footing as a bayonet, inspired the fighting men and rear area workers to a sacred and just battle against the enemy and strengthened the belief in victory.

The Leninist Communist Party was the collective leader, organizer and general of the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War. It insured the unbreakable unity of the political, state and military leadership and the unity of the army and the people and of the front and the rear area.

The fighting men and partisans of Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia; the patriots of Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, and Hungary; and the participants in the resistance movement and antifascist underground struggled selflessly against the fascist invaders. The peoples and armies of the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and other states in the anti-Hitler coalition made a large contribution to the achievement of victory during the Second World War.

Our country, however, was the main force that barred the path to German fascism's world domination. It carried the main weight of the war on its shoulders.

The contribution of our republic to the destruction of the fascist invaders is also large. More than 1,100,000 Belorussians were in the ranks of the Soviet army. A total of 440,000 partisans and members of the underground fought valiantly on Belorussia's territory.

Our cities and villages were captured, but they were never conquered.

Minsk became a hell for the occupiers. Its ruins did not provide rest for the Hitlerites either day or night.

The majestic "Minsk-Hero City" obelisk was erected on one of the most beautiful main avenues in the Belorussian capitol near the bend of the ancient Svislocha as a symbol of the courage and heroism of the patriots and underground members.

A total of 300,000 Belorussian fighting men and natives of the republic were awarded orders and medals, and more than 400 individuals were conferred the title of "Hero of the Soviet Union."

Our people won the victory at an incredibly expensive cost. The bitterness of the losses and irretrievable expenditures still burn the memory of the Soviet people. The lives of 20 million sons and daughters of our motherland were brought to the homeland's altar. One out of four inhabitants of Belorussia perished in the crucible of the war.

The war inflicted wounds and mutilations on millions of people.

It deprived millions of children of their childhood.

Millions of mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters have waited since the war for their sons, husbands, fathers, and brothers.

We have practically no family by which the black hearse of the war did not pass.

We will never forget this!

Future generations will never forget this!

People of good will throughout the earth will never forget this!

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for our motherland's honor, freedom and independence.

I ask you to honor their respectful memory with a moment of silence. (The participants in the gala meeting honored the memory of those who fell in the struggle against fascism with a minute of silence).

Comrades! The last war was a war between two opposing social systems, two ideologies, and two ways of life. In striving for world domination, Hitler's fascism posed as its goal the destruction of the socialist state that had been established by great Lenin. The enemy did not spare our cities and villages; he plundered enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes; profaned our sacred things; and conducted scorched earth tactics and total genocide. Krasukha in Russia, Khatyn in Belorussia, Babi Yar in the Ukraine, and thousands of other places on Soviet land are not only places of national grief but also a stern reminder of what militarism and war bring with them. They are a permanent warning of how important it is to be vigilant and steadfast in the struggle for the ideals of peace and progress.

In Belorussia, the Hitlerites destroyed, plundered and burned more than 200 cities and rayon centers and more than 9,000 villages. The material losses, which the occupiers caused, reached a total equal to 35 1940 Belorussian SSR budgets.

Smoldering ruins, ruins, wastelands overgrown with weeds-- such was the republic immediately after the war. Our foes thought: Dozens of years would be required to revive the lifeless national economy. However, they were not required!

They were not required because the strength of our party's Leninist nationality policy, the strength of the friendship of our brother peoples, and the maternal concern of the multinational Soviet motherland for its daughter republics, on whose land the fiery sand-storm had left the most destructive traces, were fully demonstrated.

The war was still going on, and the Soviet people were directing all their efforts to the final defeat of the fascist beast. Machine tools, machinery, metal, coal, cement, and cotton were already arriving in Belorussia... our industry exceeded the prewar level after only five years-- not after dozens.

A total of 180 large enterprises were restored or rebuilt from the bottom up in the republic during the first postwar five-year plan. Cities and villages grew on the former smoldering ruins and wastelands, and the economies of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses were strengthened.

The rebuilding of the national economy was indeed a new heroic exploit of the Soviet people.

Relying on the unselfish help and support of the brother peoples in our country, especially that of the great Russian people, Belorussia rose to unprecedented heights in economic, social and cultural progress.

Compared with 1940, the volume of industrial production has increased 35-fold. Today, our industry is composed of more than 100 branches and more than 1,400 production associations and enterprises equipped with modern equipment. The distinctive features of the republic's industrial development are dynamism, high growth rates, an increase in the quality characteristics of production, and its intensification.

Profound economic and social changes have occurred in the village. Agriculture is being energetically transferred to an industrial path of development. The power available per corn-grower has grown more than 26-fold when compared with 1940. The main sowing and harvesting operations have been fully mechanized. The level of mechanization in animal husbandry is continuously growing. Land reclamation and the addition of chemicals to the fields are taking place on a large scale. Approximately three million hectares of former swamps and marshes have been transformed into fruitful corn fields, fertile meadows and pastures. Belorussia has become a developed meat and dairy animal husbandry region and a large supplier of potatoes and flax to the state.

These impressive changes resulted from the implementation of our party's wise agrarian policy and the state's continuous and comprehensive help. The zealous attitude of the village workers toward the land and their tireless concern for increasing the productivity of the fields and farms are also included in these changes.

Based on the economy's dynamic development, the prosperity and culture of the Soviet people are steadily growing and conditions are being created for harmonious personality development. During the last 15 years alone, the real income of the republic's population has almost doubled, and per capita payments and benefits from public consumption funds have increased more than twofold. More than six million people have improved their housing conditions.

A truly sacred task for us is caring for the participants in the Great Patriotic War and the families of fallen fighting men and partisans. How are veterans living? Is the mother or widow of a fallen fighting man surrounded by kindness? --these questions have never been and should never be off the agenda of party and soviet bodies or escape the notice of public organizations.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase on awarding the Order of the Patriotic War and the anniversary medal to former frontline soldiers, partisans and rear area workers and the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government decrees on additional benefits and preferences for participants in the war and for the families of fallen servicemen were a new manifestation of this concern.

We should -- we are obliged to do everything necessary to improve the living conditions of people who gave their help in the name of victory and who lost loved ones and near ones.

The law requires this. Duty commands us. Our debt to those, who did not spare themselves during the terrible war years for our peaceful and happy present and who defended the homeland to their last drop of blood, cannot be repaid.

The Soviet people have achieved large successes in all areas of life. During a short historical period, our country has risen to the heights of economic and social progress. It has a powerful and thoroughly developed economy and highly skilled cadres of workers, specialists and scientists. We firmly occupy leading positions in the world with respect to many avenues in the development of production, science and culture.

The working people have become the proprietors of the country and the creators of their fate. The non-transitory values and inalienable features of a socialist way of life are a guaranteed right to work and its rewards, society's concern for the individual from his birth to very old age, widespread access to spiritual culture, respect for a person's worth and rights, and the steady expansion of the workers' participation in managing state affairs.

We are justifiably proud of all this. Life, however, requires the achievement of a new qualitative state of society. Primarily, this is the scientific and technical updating of production and the movement of labor productivity to the highest world level. This involves improving public attitudes, especially economic ones. This includes social changes in the area of work and the material and spiritual living conditions of the people. This involves the stirring up of the entire system of political and public institutions and the deepening of socialist democracy and self-government of the people.

A fundamental shift in transferring the national economy to the path of intensive development remains to be achieved. As a strategic lever, the party is pushing the radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress to the forefront. We are not talking about some partial changes in techniques and technology. We are talking about revolutionary changes for the better -- about rearming all branches of the national economy based on fundamentally new technological systems and the latest generation of equipment which would provide the highest efficiency.

A universal increase in the quality of products should be at the center of our economic policy. The problem of quantity -- the fuller satisfaction of the country's needs for modern equipment, the growing demand of the population for different goods, and the overcoming of scarcities in the national economy -- can and must be solved through the problem of quality.

Life is placing ever higher demands on management and on the economic mechanism in general. The party is posing the task of improving the organizational structure of management, eliminating extraneous links, simplifying the apparatus, raising its efficiency, and introducing principles of economic accounting to all primary party cells and at each work site.

The party will issue a new social program during the 27th CPSU Congress. It plans to raise the people's prosperity considerably, improve all aspects in the life of Soviet people, and create favorable conditions for harmonious personality development.

We, however, have tasks which demand increased attention today. These primarily concern the development of agriculture. During recent years, positive changes for the better have occurred here and the supply of the population with food products has been improved. This, however, is far from what is required. We must increase our work to fulfill the Food Program.

Such important problems as increasing output; raising the quality and improving the variety of consumer goods; improving the population's trade, medical and communal services; and improving construction, transportation and communications, were thoroughly examined during the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Specific measures to implement the instructions of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum were approved during a recently held Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

The implementation of everything, which the party has outlined, is impossible without strengthening order and discipline everywhere -- in production, in the service area, in social life, in life, in each work cell, and in each city and village.

Creative and selfless work that is filled with initiative, the unity of words and deeds, organization and responsibility, and exactingness on oneself and one's comrades must be the leitmotif of all the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. Here, the example must be set by communists, war and work veterans, and all who personify the best features of a citizen of a socialist society.

The role of war veterans is especially great in the heroic and patriotic indoctrination of youth, the class training of young men and women, and the formation of a feeling of love for the motherland and a constant readiness to defend it in them.

They energetically transmit the memory of the last war to the people of the postwar generation -- the memory of the heroism of the Soviet people and their exploits for the glory of the homeland. However, we must remember not only this-- not only the triumph of 1945. The historical memory of our people should preserve the 20 million sons and daughters of the motherland, who perished, and the monstrous crimes of fascism against humanity and mankind.

It is necessary to do everything so that the flame of memory will not go out with the years, but pass from father to son, from mother to daughter and from generation to generation as a sacred relic.

Our memory is also our weapon -- a weapon in the struggle against war and for peace throughout the world. We must use it effectively.

Now and for all time!

In celebrating the glorious anniversary, the republic's workers -- just as all Soviet people -- are looking back with pride on the path, which has been travelled during the last 40 peaceful years, and are looking towards the future with optimism.

This optimism is caused by the advantages of the socialist system, the wisdom and realistic policy of the CPSU, the monolithic unity of the party and people, and the unbreakable friendship and solidarity of the fraternal Soviet republics.

The truly national preparations for the next 27th CPSU Congress, which will adopt a program for communist construction during the 12th Five-Year Plan and out to the end of this century, are strengthening this optimism.

This optimism is evoking among Soviet people a desire to work inspiredly from now on for the good of our wonderful homeland.

8802

CSO: 1800/308

28 June 1985

## REGIONAL

## ARMENIAN GENERALS RECEIVE VICTORY MEDALS

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 7 May 85 p 1

[ArmenPRESS report under the rubric "To the 40th Anniversary of the Great Victory": "For Valor, Steadfastness, and Courage: Investiture of the Motherland's Decorations"]

[Text] First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia K. Demirchyan invested a group of generals, Heroes of the Soviet Union and cavaliers of three degrees of the Order of "Glory"--active participants in the Great Patriotic War--with the Order of the Patriotic War, 1st Degree, and the Jubilee Medal, "Forty Years since the Victory in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945".

Comrade K. Demirchyan, on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Armenian CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, warmly congratulated the recipients on the occasion of the joyous holiday--the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War; he wished them good health, and new and greater successes in labor to the glory of the Communist Party, on behalf of further flourishing of the socialist Fatherland. Comrade K. Demirchyan told them of the activities of the Armenian Communist Party and of the republic's state and Soviet organs for putting into effect the decisions of the March and April (1985) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee--to ensure successful completion of the 11th Five Year Plan, economic and social development, and a proper welcome to the 27th Party Congress.

Speaking on behalf of those decorated, Maj Gen (ret.) G. Martirosyan, Hero of the Soviet Union; Chief of the Personnel Department of the Armenian SSR Ministry of Agriculture, S. Siabandov; and Chief of the Physical Education Department, Armenian SSR Ministry of Education, V. Abramyan, warmly thanked the Communist Party and the Soviet state for the high value it placed on their fighting contribution to the Great Victory, and for its constant concern for those who took part, the war veterans. They declared their readiness to labor ever more fruitfully for the good of the Fatherland; and to take a more active role in educating the upcoming generation on the glorious revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people.



Attending the investiture were Comrades B. Sarkisov, F. Sarkisyan, Yu. Kochetkov and G. Voskanyan, as well as M. Davtyan, department chief, administrative organs, Armenian CP Central Committee.

On the same day Armenian CP Central Committee First Secretary, Comrade K. Demirchyan also invested a group of party and Soviet supervisory workers, active participants in the Great Patriotic War, with the Order of the Patriotic War, degrees I and II, and the Jubilee Medal, "Forty Years since the Victory in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945".

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